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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT



Maclean's
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The 15 participants, left to right: Stuart Diamond, John Paul, Viola Corrado-Schooner, Charles Dupuis, Marie LeBeau, Roger Fisher, Sheila Simpson, Karen Adams, Carol Gendron, Carol Simpson, Karen Collings, Richard Miller, Colin Finn, Robert Lalande and Robert Richardson.

SPECIAL REPORT



THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

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Twelve Canadian academicians chosen for their differences met with conflict resolution experts for a weekend—and produced a remarkable vision for Canada

THE 12 WHO SHARED

— 12 —

It was a weekend of discovery—and self-discovery—for the dozen individuals from across the country who participated in the Maclean's forum on national unity.

A CANADIAN RENEWAL

— 26 —

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A WEEKEND OF CANDOR

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In their main meeting room, at outdoor gatherings and over meals, the 12 participants engaged in searching, and frequently troubling, dialogue in pursuit of their mutually held vision of a nation.

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A three-man team led by world-renowned Harvard law professor Roger Fisher showed forum members how to set aside their preconceptions about one another and recognize their common interests.

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Toronto-based Decima Research identified the "clusters" of thought that represent the main thinking patterns of the nation, and helped Maclean's find the individuals who fall under the umbrella of those specific beliefs.

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The three conflict resolution experts who guided the Maclean's forum brought a wealth of experience to the task.

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Looking back on their weekend sessions with 12 Canadians, the American negotiators concluded that the country could learn a lot from the participants' experience.

THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT

— 70 —

The British North America Act created a state, but in its ambiguity it also set off a constitutional power struggle that haunts Canada 124 years later.

LETTERS

IN DEFENCE OF THE FORCES

I cannot begin to tell you how saddened I was to read about the Canadian government's plan to cut back on the armed forces ("Messier and lesser," *Covers*, June 17). While most people would like to think that we do not need soldiers, they are fooling themselves. Even in today's so-called enlightened Canada, we still need protection.

Janice M. Gelin,
Amherst, Ont.

Why, asks former deputy minister of defence Charlin Hays, do we have three military colleges in this country? "We shouldn't have one," he says. But any country that wants properly educated citizens (and with a sense of truth, duty and valor needs military colleges. Men and women so educated carry that aura into private life. At a time when such values and skills are missing in society, Hays's comments please me.

Shea F. Benda,
Shorewood Park, Alta.

TAXING PROBLEMS

Your June 17 article "Mad as hell over taxes" (Canada) was right on the money. I noted with interest the reference to a 66-per-cent increase in federal personal income tax revenue since 1984. In fact, that pales in comparison with the 496-per-cent increase Ottawa has added to the gasoline excise tax during the same period. Particularly disturbing is the level of governments to justify such go-taxes on the basis that they will encourage conservation. I shudder to think what will be the next self-righteous excuse governments will find for raising oil taxes.

Michael S. McNeil,
President, Canadian Automobile Association,
Ottawa

DARK SUITS AND ARROGANCE

If Bruce Mulroney thinks that the proper image of today's prime minister, even at polo, as reflected by dark suits and buttoned jackets, he should think again ("The private Prime Minister," *Covers*, June 18). In typically arrogant fashion, he dismissed his responsibility as prime minister as being to improve his image, your photo essay would have portrayed a caring leader participating in a community service project or visiting a food bank.

D. C. Kennedy,
Shorewood Park, Ont.

I do not get the message that Mulroney's or Brian Mulroney is trying to convey in "The private Prime Minister." What I see is the



Officer gaudiance: 'we need protection'

leader of a bankrupt country showing off to poor taxpayers. Unless, perhaps, that message is in the picture of the breakfast scene, when I see the future of the Canadian family sitting around the table with no food on their plates.

George Coughlin,
Brimley, Ont.

Perhaps Mike Mulroney should be tested for steroids. In your photo essay, she is shown leaving for a 30-km walk at 8:30 in the morning, yet by 9:30 she has returned. If she passes the test, maybe she should be on Canada's Olympic team.

Jim Bellingher,
Toronto

PAINTING THE WRONG PICTURE

In "A tradition of democracy" (Canada, May 20), the painting described as the "Fathers of Confederation in Charlottetown" is actually a depiction of our Fathers in Quebec City. The original painting was done by Robert Harris and revealed by Rex Woods after the original was destroyed during the fire on Parliament Hill in 1916. Harris had been commissioned to do a painting of the Fathers in Charlottetown, but the painting session in fact took place a month later (in October, 1864) at the Quebec conference.

Greta MacLean,
Charlottetown Area Tourist
Industry Association,
Charlottetown

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should spell out abbreviations and telephone numbers. Mail addresses should be: Letters to the Editor, Mailbox 1, Ensign, Windsor Star, 101 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

SUSPENDED: By Atlantic Canada, from competition for at least two years, Calgary sprinter Brian Morrison, 22, after testing positive for a blood stimulant, at the Seoul Olympics in 1988, then Johnson, 28, tested positive for the same drug, at muscle, which is also banned by the International Olympic Committee. Morrison, a two-time Canadian senior champion who replaced Johnson on the Canadian relay team after his disqualification in Seoul, was considered one of Canada's 1992 Olympic hopefuls. It and that he had been using a blood stimulant to boost a hamstring injury. Also suspended for steroid use was a New Zealand sprinter who trains in Calgary, William Hackett, 22.



For her roles in *On Her Own*, *My Favorite Thing* (and from 1953 to 1965), and such movies as *Lenny* (1984) and *Caddy* (1985).

RECOVERING: After the amputation of his cancerous left arm and shoulder, former San Diego Padres and San Francisco Giants pitcher Dave Drusevsky, 36, at a New York City hospital. After having a tumor removed from his pitching arm, Drusevsky made a dramatic comeback in August, 1989. But it was short-lived, Drusevsky broke the arm twice afterwards, once that August and again two months later.

RII: After surgery to remove a blood clot from his brain, veteran newsman Barry Rossmore, 66, in a hospital near his home in Westport, Conn. Rossmore retired from CBS TV's 60 Minutes in May.

OBSC: Movie and TV actress Joan Cashfield, 68, of cancer in a Los Angeles hospital. A former model, Cashfield was known

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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

How Canadians can surmount differences to agree on their future

"Conflict is a growth industry. People are going to develop into one another over time frequently, and we need more and more skills to deal with it."

—Conflict resolution expert and Harvard law professor Roger Fisher, addressing participants in the Marleau's focus on national unity

They knew nothing about one another except that they had all been chosen for their differences. At the invitation of Marleau's, 22 Canadians had travelled in for a 3,000-mile to spend three days together, discussing Canada's future at a critical time in the nation's history. They met at a secluded Ontario resort, under the glare of TV lights and the watchful gaze of a team of Marleau's reporters and editors. The time was short, the pressure was intense and, still, they managed to work some magic. Asked to come up with a vision for the future of Canada, they began their task with a remarkable, and totally unpredictable, decision: they chose three broad topics for discussion, only one of which involved specific constitutional issues.

Another was the economy. And the third was what they called "national understanding"—focusing on a failure to communicate that they saw at the heart of Canada's current ills. What is more, the 12 agreed—both in their own deliberations and in the nation at large—that these three elements should be discussed *concurrently*. In doing so, the participants effectively placed the national unity debate into the legislative, constitutional and political arenas where Canada's leaders have kept it, and placed it squarely and the daily concerns of every Canadian.

Their imaginative approach led them to produce a wide-ranging 16-page statement of "joint suggestions" for converting the nation's unity into a part 26, last, page 32. It also confirmed the theory that Marleau's editors had conceived the focus in the first place. Even as many commentators had task forces criticised for almost a year of the collapse of the Meech Lake accord a year ago, a critical consensus was arising from the national debate: real dialogue. While those commentators have been valuable in giving many Canadians a chance to air their complaints, they have not provided a forum for productive discussion of the issues among Canadians with differing views. It seemed likely that if that kind of focus could be created, some civil reconciliation would emerge.

To that end, Marleau's presented a challenge to its regular polling firm, Toronto-based Decima Research: to identify the main patterns of thought that together provide a portrait of the national psyche, to provide series of people who fall into those categories. The first part of the process, known in modern polling circles as "cluster analysis," took several months (Decima's process, page 62). Next, Decima staff began phoning Canadians with as 30-part questionnaire, searching for the people who correspond to those definitions. By early May, Marleau's had a shortlist of 25 Canadians with fairly held beliefs that spanned the spectrum of its clusters of thought, ranging from so-called First Federalists through compromise-seeking Progressives to Hard Quebec Separatists.

Then, through a series of follow-up interviews, Marleau's reporters



and editors surveyed the field to 11 articulate potential participants, from Berwick, N.S., to Richmond, B.C., all willing to defend their points of view, and all of them interested in talking with people of differing opinions. By agreement with Decima, Marleau's chose one other participant, a native Canadian, from outside the process, because traditional telephone polling methods do not achieve a representative sampling from widely dispersed small native communities. With that, a group of six women and six men was in place (profiles, page 32).

Meanwhile, Marleau's had also undertaken a search for the best possible assistance in leading the group in a productive discussion. All leads almost invariably pointed to the breeding ground of modern conflict

resolution practices, the Harvard Negotiation Project based in Cambridge, Mass. Expertise in the new negotiation methods has been growing rapidly in Canada over the past decade, but Canadian practitioners would inevitably bring to the table, and regional bias, to the process. As well, most of them are practicing technicians that they, or their teachers, learned at Harvard. As a result, Marleau's chose the strongest possible combination of objectivity and expertise, and called on the services of the guru of conflict resolution, Harvard University law professor Roger Fisher. A veteran of dispute settlement in many of the hot spots of the world, Fisher, 68, developed the theory of "principled negotiation," in which the search for common interests replaces argu-

ment over non-negotiable demands. He and two of his colleagues accepted the challenge of helping divergent Canadians rediscover the interests they share (their technique, page 54); profiles, page 66; their report, page 66).

The encounter took place from June 7 to 15 at the Rivers, a picturesque resort 80 km north of Toronto on the shores of Lake Simcoe. Its 1800-vintage stone building and spacious, well-kept grounds provided an attractive backdrop for a crew from the CTV television network, who recorded the weekend's events for a special edition of the public-affairs program *N5* on Sunday, June 30.

Did the participants save the country? That was never the intention of Marleau's. Decima's or the negotiating group's underlying project. But the conclusions that they reached, and which all of them agreed, point clearly to the social, economic and political problems that frustrate Canadian citizens. More hopefully, they also indicate many of the ways in which these representative Canadians believe that those problems might be solved.

Many of their ideas of suggestions challenge specific institutions to take on particular tasks, from school boards changing more student exchange programs within Canada to the office of the prime minister initiating a national economic plan to identify and take advantage of Canada's competitive strengths. They also call for a broad range of political and constitutional reforms primarily aimed at making government more directly responsive to the wishes of voters.

The two other obvious suggestions permeated the discussion aimed at designing a better Canada, and one of them ended the weekend saying that she had seriously rethink her beliefs. They also agreed, along with the native participant, that despite their ideological, the pros and cons of all the various constitutional options should be examined thoroughly before Canadians reach any final conclusion. Their pact declined to say "And before making any decision to abandon the goal of a united Canada, we should look with equal care at what would be a realistic vision of a sovereign Canada, a sovereign Quebec and self-government for the First Nations."

Did the event provide any lessons for the country as a whole? Twelve Canadians, representing widely divergent views of the country's problems, demonstrated that a discussion that followed a course radically different from traditional negotiations can lead individuals who originally held positions and voice a concerted effort to discuss and defend their collective interests. In the end, all 12 strong-minded participants, chosen for their differences, put their signatures on a single vision of a way towards a better Canada. Remembered Richmond Gwynes counsel Richard Milne, while not bailing from his First Federalist position: "I was changed from being a skeptic to the fact of the group to try in much of any sense in possible, in reaching an agreement that would make it all of us united." Added Montreal lawyer Charles Dupont, a self-described sovereigntist: "I observed the willingness of people to listen. That may be a start."

Canadian Affairs Minister Joe Clark has laid the groundwork for a new 20-member parliamentary committee to study the unity issue, starting in the fall. But so far, he has not contacted the government's leading non-politicians into the process, or to providing the constructive dialogue. Even the government's just-completed consultative initiative did not do that. The Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, chaired by former journalist Rick Spicer, spent \$27.4 million trying to "despoil the dialogue" by bringing to about 400,000 Canadians in public and private meetings, telephone calls and mailed-in reports from local gatherings across the country.

It will report on June 27. But its process rarely allowed participants to move beyond reporting on the problems to discussing possible solutions. As Nova Scotia regional co-ordinator David Heymans and to Spicer at a May deliberating session: "In most cases, the dialogue never took place." The experience of the Marleau's focus indicates that if a national dialogue ever does take place, it would be an extremely productive process.

ROBERT MARSHALL

The 12 Who Shared

Forum members found common interests behind widely divergent views



They were chosen not for the common ground they shared, but because they disagreed. The 12 participants in the Maclean's national survey forum were carefully selected by the magazine and Denise Ancelet to represent and articulate the range of the country's divergent views about the current socio-economic situation in Quebec separatist and autonomy-seeking nations. As of the participants underwent at least some change in their opinions over the course of the weekend at a lakeside retreat in Ontario. They also spoke about their new appreciation for one another's attitudes—and a shared sense that everyone has a role to play in moving Canada's fortunes.

KAREN ADAMS Toronto

Karen Adams sat by herself under the protective cover of 80-foot blacked-out trees, carefully reviewing the 30-page document that she and the 11 other participants had just drafted during the Maclean's weekend forum on the future of Canada. Later, in an interview, the 34-year-old law-school dropout and consultant from Toronto said that the quiet reflection near the end of an intense weekend was essential. "I needed the time to digest it," she said. Like several other participants, Adams began the retreat heavily influenced by her life in business. "I felt very optimistic coming from Toronto," she said. "But then, I realized that is why we are in the situation we're in: because of that and what we do as a country to the rest of Canada. Someone has to pay the bills." The more important discovery, she added, was realizing how much the weekend had changed her and the other participants. "When the meeting started, we were divided by geography, economics and emotions," she said. "Now, I am confident in the Canadian people. I was a bit nervous about the country, but my faith has been reinforced."

Born in Oakville, Ont., Adams was educated at Burlington's Loyola High School, then graduated from nearby Sheridan Community College with a diploma in fashion design in 1977. A year earlier, she had married, her husband, Ken Adams, was a Toronto law-school data processor and software engineer. Adams began her own career after graduation, working the established business circuit for 12 years. In 1988, she started her own business. "I was nervous about going out on my own at such a time in the law-school industry," she said. "About 50 per cent of Canada's law-firm industry closed down." That led, she said, prompted her to participate in a subcommittee of the forum dealing with the national economy. "I am my industry crumbling," she said. "I wonder when we'll be in the same fix in 10 years."

As the owner of her own fashion studio, K.A.S., Adams oversees design, stitching, styling and marketing of knitwear lines sold to retail chains and department stores. "I develop color, using and shape, and work with Canadian manufacturers, either domestically or abroad," she explained. She returned from a two-week visit to knitting and embroidery studios in Canada only a few days before the gathering. "We still try to support the domestic knitting plants, but imports are at such extremely low prices," she said. "Other countries have the labor to do a lot of hand knitting at low wages."

She works out of a bright, cluttered second-floor office, surrounded by



colorful fabric samples, overlooking Spadina Avenue in Toronto's fashion district. Away from the office, she is a fan of the movies and crime novels. She and her husband recently bought a two-story brick house in the lively suburb of Lasalle. Her work takes her to Montreal once a month, but Adams does not agree with Quebec separatists—Deane admitted her as a firm Pro-Canada. During the forum weekend, she dismissed narrow definitions of citizenship as irrelevant. "When I travel abroad, I never say I am from Ontario. I almost always say I am Canadian," she said. And afterwards she observed that the experience had confirmed her confidence in "the human spirit to survive, adding, "If we could just drive that out, we would unite as a country."

CYRIL ALLEYNE Montreal

As an elite golfer, Cyril Alayne paid weekly for the green fees of the Lake St-James resort where the 12-member Maclean's forum had met to discuss Canada's future. "I would have brought my clubs," he said with a laugh. "but they told me I wouldn't have time for a round." The 51-year-old manager at Montreal's West Bonaventure, a manufacturer of radios, shoes and other consumer goods, said that he approached the weekend golfing with curiosity—and a little wariness. "I did not know what to expect," he said. But by the end of Sunday's groundbreaking session, Alayne said he was surprised at how productive the discussions had been. "I would never have thought we could do this in only three days,"

he said, Alayne had heard. And in the end, after the agreement on a joint statement, Alayne felt enough to speak in his own words of golf with a set of rented clubs.

In his role as a manager, Alayne says that he believes in delegating work and building a sense of responsibility in employees. His constitutional team seems to take these practices into account. Although he calls himself a federalist, he says that more power should flow to the provinces. Deane's analysis identified him as a Quebec Moderate. He was critical, however, of what he called the "toward-looking mentality" of people in his own province. Quebecers generally do not bother to travel, he said, or to learn enough about the outside world before making decisions about their role in it. He added: "Even when they do go outside the country, it's usually to Florida, where they stay in Hollywood—with all the other French-Canadians."

Overall, Alayne said, he is optimistic about the future of Canada, principally because he has detected some changing attitudes among his in-household acquaintances who favor sovereignty. Said Alayne: "A lot of the people I talk to are suddenly beginning to question the whole idea of separation."

Alayne immigrated to Canada from Barbados with his family in 1947, where he was 5. He grew up in the east end of Montreal, and says that he was the first black family ever to live in the immediate neighborhood. Neighbors "used to stare a lot," he said, "but we soon settled in." He served three years in the Royal Canadian Navy as a radio plotter and married a French-Canadian woman. Now divorced and living in the east Montreal suburb of Repentigny, he has one daughter—Chantal, 26, a granddaughter two years old and two months of grandsons. An active sportsman, he plays softball in a men's league, hockey and tennis, as well as his favorite, golf. He also enjoys music and reading.

Alayne was one of the quieter participants during the Maclean's weekend, something that he himself mentioned on and that he just pushed him. "I am normally very outspoken," he said on Saturday evening. "But I seem to be very quiet now." As he left the weekend gathering, he added: "I wondered last night, after we came up with the common statement, about whether I spoke up enough as someone who represented English Quebecers. I guess I am a thinker before I am a talker." Clearly, Cyril Alayne was not the only participant in the forum on Canada's future who left the weekend with a lot to think about.



VIOLA CEREZKE-SCHOOLER Edmonton

Edmontonian and social worker Viola (Vi) Cerezke-Schooler, 54, says that she took a passionate concern about the rising rates of poverty to the Maclean's forum on Canada's future. "I am in horror at the events that are despoiling Canada's social safety net," she said, "and about what will happen to children and many Canadian adults." Cerezke-Schooler, a Pro-Quebecist according to Deane's analysis, added that she believes that Quebec has legitimate complaints caused by rising housing and poverty rates, but that its best chance to retain its French culture is to stay in Confederation. Acknowledging that an independent Quebec would not maintain its trading relationship with the United States, she declared: "The United States won't give a hoot about the French but." She added: "English has emerged as the language of trade and commerce. Quebec cannot escape that." Still, as Cerezke-Schooler prepared to leave for Edmonton at the end of the three-day conference, she noted that many western Canadians share the sense of isolation that Quebecers feel. "If Quebec feels marginalized," she said, "it is normal to pull at. But when it understands that there are creative ways to stay together, then the province could change."

Cerezke-Schooler was born in Moose Jaw, 126 km northwest of Edmonton, and is the granddaughter of pioneer Alberta homesteaders. She graduated in psychology and general nursing at the Alberta Hospital in Ponoka in 1959. After working for the Alberta Social Services' child welfare department, she completed her bachelor's degree in 1963 at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. In 1965, she earned her bachelor's of social work at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and then worked for 34 years in family counseling in Edmonton and Calgary. Since obtaining a master's degree in sociology at the University of Calgary in 1979, she has lectured in social work at Glen Roseview Community College in Edmonton.

An avid book collector, gardener and globe-trotter who has twice visited China—and who traveled to Guatemala the week after the Maclean's forum ended—Cerezke-Schooler says that her favorite Canadian city is Montreal. "I would live on St-Denis Street at one of those little walk-up apartments," she said. As well, Cerezke-Schooler says that she enjoys a wide spectrum of music, including opera. She is married to

Herbert Canada, an entomologist with the federal department of forestry in Edmonton, and they have two bilingual children. Daughter Jill, 24, is a graduate of the University of Alberta in anthropology and English, and son Mark, 21, is about to begin studies at an Edmonton community college.

After the Machine's formal adjournment, Geracie Schosler, a strong Canadian nationalist, had high praise for the conflict resolution skills that a three-member team from the Harvard-based Conflict Management Group possessed in helping the 12 participants develop their final statement. "What is clear," she said, "is that you can have struggles with no idea of Canada, who use a process to have us say honestly what we think and are afraid of. And they allow us to suspend judgment and show us how ground between us." Illustrating her visits to China, she added, "The Chinese interpretation of the word 'crisis' seems an opportunity on the tail of the dragon. Danger also means opportunity and we have an opportunity to create something remarkable here."



KARREN COLLINGS
Fenwick, Ont.

Karren Collings lives close to the earth at her home in Fenwick, Ont., a rural community that sits high on the Niagara Escarpment among orchards and vineyards. The slender 43-year-old nurse, who now works on a casual part-time basis at the Welland County General Hospital, 10 km southeast of Fenwick, devotes a good deal of her energy to the cultivation of flowers on the one-third of an acre of land where the hennies are. But when she rises from that work to relax on the deck attached to her house, Collings's view expands—on a clear day, as far as the hills of Pennsylvania, more than 150 km to the south. In a sense, her view of her country underwent a similar expansion of horizons as Collings participated in the Machine's forum on Canada's future. From an opinion beforehand that the nation seemed to be heading for a bleak, she says, her outlook changed. "I realized issues are not cut-and-dried," she said. "I realized that it is not over for Quebec, that they are still ready to listen."

The impression of Quebec that Collings carried to the forum was based partly on memories of a visit 25 years ago, when she found the

people. Ironically—they spoke English. Her visit as a teenager was her first to Quebec. Although she and her husband of 21 years, Benjamin, have travelled as far afield as Florida, Mexico and Colombia on winter vacations, it was not until the 11-hour air trip to Toronto to watch the Blue Jays play baseball, the focus of their lives in the Niagara Peninsula. His work as an industrial engineer with General Motors of Canada at St. Catharines, about 20 km northwest of Fenwick, and their only child, Christopher, 23, has just completed Grade 10 at E. L. Crooks Secondary School in nearby Portfrail.

Karren Collings's more recent impression of Quebecers, she and before taking part in the forum, is that "they are hurting—obviously from what they say about themselves and the rest of Canada." She said before the forum that she was uncomfortable with the public hearing of ideological arguments at the expense of other programs, even though 25 per cent of the 44,578 people who live in Welland are francophones. She also balked at the idea of an economic association between a politically independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. "To me," she said then, "that is not being part of Canada." Still, Collings, whose Decima's cluster analysis identified as a "Protestant/Impassioned worker," added, "Wouldn't it be wonderful if we all agreed, Quebecers came out happy and the politicians did what we asked?"

After the forum at the Briens, Collings said that she was surprised how easy, in the end, the 12 participants "agreed to listen to one another and talk things out." In those discussions, she suggested that understanding between Canadians should be fostered among young people in the classroom and in their communities. "We will talk to the local media and the schools," she said later. For her part, Collings said that her family had been planning a summer vacation in Myrtle Beach, S.C. After her experience at the forum, however, the family now plans instead to travel to Quebec and Canada's East Coast. "That is starting small, but it is at the grassroots," she said. For a woman accustomed to working close to the earth and taking a longer view of the world around her, that is an approach that holds the promise of satisfying results in the life of Canada.

CHARLES DUPUIS Ste-Thérèse, Que.

Charles Dupuis, a young Montreal lawyer who has worked actively for a sovereign Quebec, was an outspoken advocate for that cause at the Machine's forum on Canada's future—and a hard Separatist according to Decima's advance analysis. A resident of suburban Ste-Thérèse, Dupuis, 23, is a specialist in civil law, the great passion in a law man from that province out of a modest suite of offices above a canoe business in Abasco, on Montreal's north side. "I am a typical Bilingual lawyer," he says. "I love to fight." But as a participant at the Machine's sessions, his weapons were as often a clear respect for the democratic process—and a fertile sense of humor—as a readiness to press deeply held convictions.

Noting that his wife, Nancy de Courcel, is an entomologist—they met as teenagers but married only four years ago after he was established as a lawyer and she had graduated—Dupuis quoted Agathe Christie's jest that marrying an entomologist is relaxing because "the older you get, the more fascinating you become to them." He himself is interested in the more recent past, collecting books of 19th-century history. He says that as a local chess and plays golf and softball. He says that he also likes to cook, and enjoys being after their three young children.

But during the three-day encounter, Dupuis did not shrink from cataloguing for his fellow participants his views on the differences between French- and English-Canadians and his concerns that francophone culture is threatened within Canada. Dupuis was a member of the Parti Québécois from 1976 to 1980, but resigned from the party after its commitment to sovereignty-independence weakened in the wake of the defeat of that choice in the 1980 Quebec referendum. He campaigned actively for the "yes" side in that poll. And he said that he had been concerned that the discussion with English-Canadians about the future of

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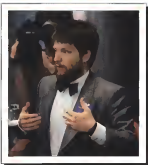


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the country would be bitter and hostile. "I was worried that I would feel like a Christian as a son of lions," he said. "Fortunately, I had a chair, but no whip. They respected my point of view, I think."

The lawyer said the weekend improved his knowledge of English Canada. But the sessions did not dispel all his worries about Canada's federal system. Declared Dupuis: "This was not like St. Paul on the road to Damascus. I did not see the light." One has values at life. I will not change the way I live." Indeed, Dupuis added: "Nothing has changed for me really, or for the others, I think. I still believe in sovereignty and I still think they would react with a lot of emotion to Quebec becoming independent."

Still, Dupuis said that he was impressed with the work accomplished with the help of the team of Harvard negotiators experts. He added: "If we have another meeting of the 12 of us, it would be a great comeback." The discussion never deteriorated into mindless ruminations, he noted—"the only thing you would prove by insulting somebody is how dumb you are"—adding that the final list of directions for the future of Canada produced and agreed by the group was an impressive display of democracy. Declared Dupuis: "I believe in democracy, and something is a super exercise if you improve democracy."

COLIN FINN Ottawa

The weekend was over, and Colin Finn was showing clear signs of behavior modification. At 31, Finn was the youngest of the 12 participants. He was also, at first, one of the least forthcoming. But on Sunday afternoon, wearing a blue flat cap, he stood in front of his colleagues eagerly interjecting words of encouragement as he marked down their suggestions on an notepad. Of his rural residence, he said: "I was completely amazed at what the objectives were. I had to think if it was just going to be a backing session. But people came prepared to talk, to get rid of excess baggage." By the close of the meeting on Monday morning, Finn was enthusiastic about the techniques that had been used to help resolve differences over national unity. "This is not selling our own ideas," he said. "It is trying to understand the basic needs of people."

The busy Kingston, Ont.-born Finn is the sales director for a Canadian software company, On Corp Systems International, based in

Kearns, just west of Ottawa. After graduating with a degree in electrical engineering from Queen's University in Kingston in 1982, he worked for three years as a testing engineer for MIRA Corp. in Keweenaw, before completing a master's degree in business at the University of Western Ontario in London. On graduation, he fulfilled his goal of working for a small Canadian high-technology company in the Ottawa area by joining On Corp, where he started in customer service. Since then, Finn has climbed rapidly in the company, which has grown to 30 employees from one. He now spends three or four days a week throughout Canada and the United States. His wife, Stephanie, teaches English as a second language to high-school students who have immigrated to Canada.

Finn arrived for the weekend wearing a Firm Proclaimat, according to Beaman's analysis. He told Maclean's that his main concern about Canada was the amount of energy being spent on the country's constitutional problems. He said that issues such as the national debt and long-term industrial strategies should be given more attention. With many people suffering through a recession and worrying about their next meal, resources are bound to grow, he told the forum on Sunday. Declared Finn: "I think the whole constitutional debate comes down to that very fact. If you could get past the issue of Canada paying itself apart because we don't have enough jobs to go around, people would be happy enough to live and speak whatever language comes first."

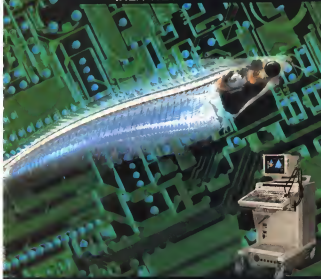
During that same brainstorming session, he addressed the frustration felt by people who see their paychecks eaten up by taxes. Said Finn: "People who are working hard and creating value for the economy deserve to be rewarded. And in Canada today, people who work hard are not being rewarded—they're being taxed. The feeling is, 'Well, why bother?' If someone else can get by without working hard, I'm going to work just four days a week or take advantage of some sort of welfare program."

For his part, Finn said that the weekend encounter taught him the importance of the process that the three negotiators pursuing the group called "principled negotiation." He added: "I don't think the object was to arrive at the issues and write all the right words, but to prove the concept. I think what we accomplished is a very difficult to approximate without going through the exercise. It is not so much the content, but the fact that people can protect their interests and get what they want without compromising their position."



PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE MCGEE FOR MACLEAN'S

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THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT



CAROL GEDDES
Whitehorse, Yukon

Like several of the participants in the *Maclean's* forum on the future of Canada, 48-year-old filmmaker and writer Carol Geddes arrived with a relatively limited agenda. She grew up in a Tlingit Indian family of nine children in the Yukon, where she attended discussion first hand, and her primary was advocating the rights of aboriginal people within the Canadian federation. But she said that during the three-day conference, her perspective widened. "I quickly opened up to other issues," she said, "especially an increased awareness and more feeling about Canada as a whole. The experience strengthened my First Nations issues and enlarged my faith in Canada." Geddes also said that another important aspect of the forum was its inclusion of small-group workshops. Said Geddes: "That's where things really happened for me. The first night, it seemed very awkward. We were all very shy. But the small groups really brought it out." As well, Geddes said that the renewed her sympathies for Quebec sovereignty. "I had separatist friends when I lived in Montreal in the early 1980s," she said. "I understood them then, but I had forgotten the issues until this conference."

Born in a remote native community near the southern Yukon village of Tulee (population 300), Geddes is a member of the Tlingit nation's Wolf clan. She says that her roots in the northern bush allowed her "to appreciate the richness of the heritage and traditions of a culture now North Americans have never been lucky enough to share." When Geddes was 12, however, her family moved to Whitehorse, where she finished elementary school but dropped out at high school without completing Grade 10. Through most of the 1960s, Geddes studied, she "lacked access at old pipe" in the Yukon and northern Alberta, at first working steadily as a waitress and later as a crane's aide. In 1970, after moving with her boyfriend to the town to St. John's, Geddes took three months away from work to travel through Europe.

Then, in 1973, when she was 25 and working as a waitress in Ottawa, friends encouraged her to enter Carleton University as a native student. Five years later, she graduated with distinction in English and philosophy and later went on to earn a postgraduate diploma in communications from Montreal's Concordia University. Now based in Whitehorse, Geddes is a freelance filmmaker and writer. She also

served on the Canada Council's jury for general arts grants for two years and as a member of the Yukon Arts Centre Board and the territory's Development Corporation Board.

Geddes was the only participant not chosen for the *Maclean's* forum by random polling conducted by Decima Research. Decima and *Maclean's* determined early in the process that, because traditional telephone polling methods do not produce a representative sampling of Canada's widely dispersed native population, *Maclean's* would select a participant to bring a native perspective to the discussion. Geddes was chosen for her ability to articulate native concerns while not being affiliated with any specific First Nations lobby group. Her subsequent answers to the same detailed questionnaire that the other 11 participants completed, however, showed that she shared many of the views of the Pick-up/Vancouver cluster of thinking—looking for significant changes within the existing system.

Still close to her roots, Geddes often fishes with her relatives on ancestral lands, including whitefish, salmon and lake trout. She also likes to swim and hike. Much of Geddes's writing and film-making concerns her cultural links to the North and its native people. "I am totally against the melting-pot idea," she said, "where we should evolve some new usage of a general multicultural person." Her first major film, *Jerico, L'auvergnat indien*, chronicled the lives of native women who were carriers over great odds. Geddes links with general producer David Summer, whom she describes simply as her "partner." Although she has supported the New Democratic Party in the past—helping to manage Yukon MP and now MP Leader Audrey McLaughlin's first federal campaign in 1988—she left no doubt about her current priority. "Politically," she declared, "the First Nations are first."



ROBERT LALONDE
Gatineau, Que.

Forty-nine-year-old Robert Lalonde says that when he arrived at L'Espresso from Gatineau, Que., to join the other 11 members of the *Maclean's* forum on Canada's future, he felt "a little bit lost. I didn't know what I was getting into." But he admits *Maclean's* had threatened "With his easygoing style and quiet, cooperative manner, Lalonde fit easily into the group's discussion about emotions and relationships. A committed Quebec *Pédagogue* at Decima's analysis, he said that he was

sounded as how much all the participants sounded after they had shared their own views and started talking about real human concerns. Said Lalonde: "Once you remove barriers, borders and labels and you get down to the basic human core, you find out we're all the same." And at the end of the working weekend, Lalonde declared: "I have more faith that I ever did before in Canada."

Lalonde describes his family's heritage as "House 57" because of the mix of French and Irish culture and blood. His father, John, was 76, was raised in an English-speaking family and married a francophone, Lucienne. They sent their four children, including "Bob," to French schools. Lalonde met his own wife, Lucie, in 1978, while both were doing their Baccalauréat. The couple and their two children, Melaine, 15, and Martin, 11, speak French at home. But Lalonde insists that it is a Quebecois interest to remain an integral part of Canada. "I think we need a strong coverage of events by Quebec-based media and their Quebecois counterparts. She enjoys movies and television—in particular the series *Sherlock*. The *Next Generation*, which she watches in English. Another

A technical support specialist for Xerox of Canada Ltd., where he has worked for 35 years, Lalonde plays piano, does cross-country, cycles and enjoys the family's swimming pool in his spare time. Lalonde, who clearly treasures his family life, says that Canada faces the same challenges any household does. "There is the same sort of relationship between the parts of a family and the parts of Canada."

Indeed, during many of the group discussions, Lalonde stressed the importance of strengthening emotional relationships and played down political arguments. One of the most crucial elements of change in Canada would be heightened "empathy," Lalonde said during a Saturday morning workshop. "If you could transform everybody's heart," he said, "if you accept the other person, you would solve a lot of these problems, automatically." He also criticized mass coverage of the constitutional crisis, saying that television, newspapers and magazines tend to emphasize conflict at the expense of good news. Issues that might unite Canadians receive short shrift, he added, while divisive issues are often front-page news. And Lalonde, who also worked for two years in Saint John, N.B., in the 1980s, was also a strong proponent of the idea of Canadians travelling more to learn about one another's cultures and regions. In Quebec, although Lalonde felt that the Marlon's forum had done little to change his views, he acknowledged that the time spent with other Canadians had impressed him. Said Lalonde: "I am amazed that we were able to agree on a document."

MARIE LEBEAU Hull, Que.

Marie LeBeau lifted her suitcase wearily and moved towards the author table counter. After a long weekend discussing the issues of Canadian unity, the 47-year-old federal civil servant looked exhausted. Declared LeBeau: "I have only been this tired once before in my life, when I gave birth to my daughter, Anne, 30 years ago. Then, like now, I was too tired to sleep afterwards." For LeBeau, who as this weekend began was described by both Decima and herself as a hard feminist, the discussions among 12 Canadians left her drained and, to her surprise,

uncertain whether there is any justification for Quebec's independence. As the subject, LeBeau had compared Canada to a halfway marriage that would be better ended in a civil divorce. "But I also worry that that would be possible and that we will have to talk to each other to work out some solution," she added. As the Marlon's forum came to a close, she seemed less certain of what she wanted for Quebec, and said: "I was decided before. I am not now. I think I lack 99 per cent of the information I need to make up my mind."

LeBeau, who is divorced and lives in Hull, on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, decided 10 years ago to end her career as a teacher of French as a second language and to train instead to be a computer programmer. She now works for the department of supply and services, programming the massive payroll for which Ottawa is responsible. In her spare time, LeBeau is a voracious reader of newspapers and critically compares and contrasts coverage of events by Quebec-based media and their Quebecois counterparts. She enjoys movies and television—in particular the series *Sherlock*. The *Next Generation*, which she watches in English. Another "passion" of hers is the painstaking reproduction of historical clothing in miniature, which she sews by hand. For 18-month dolls, each dress requires up to 500 hours of labor.

Self-spoken and articulate in both English and French, LeBeau spent much of the weekend discussing her intense personal feelings with participants from other parts of the country and with fellow Quebecers. Indeed, for LeBeau, feelings and emotions often took precedence over any sense of specific conflict between English and French. LeBeau, who said that her family has lived in Quebec for generations, spoke several times during the weekend of the pain of rejection that she feels as part of Canadian francophone minority. And she said afterwards that talking about that pain was liberating, and that she was surprised at how sympathetic other Canadians were to her feelings. She added: "It does not give it all the way I expected. I thought we were going to be 12 angry people."

As a particularly emotional moment, during dinner on the Saturday night, the slim, quiet LeBeau told her companions that Canadians are like "children crying for love," adding that "this country needs honesty." And she continued: "We are not talking separately, we are talking putting together. This is Canada, according to me. I think that Quebec is what Canada is all about, and we have lost sight of that." Shortly after returning at the Beaus' resort for the weekend, LeBeau had declared: "I left Canada a long time ago." But on Saturday night when fellow participant Karen Collings commented that both English- and French-Canadians needed to listen to each other, despite any roles they might perform in doing that, LeBeau replied: "It is a question of survival."

Still, even LeBeau acknowledged that her readiness to consider a federalist solution may be short-lived. As the plane carrying her back home from Toronto began its descent into Ottawa on Monday evening, LeBeau sighed and shook her head: "Let us see how I feel in one month," she said. "Perhaps, with some distance, I will feel once again that there is no other solution for Quebec but some sort of independence." But as the plane took off, LeBeau held the belief that Quebec and the rest of Canada should share the future together.

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later continued his own studies, graduating in physical education from the University of New Brunswick in 1967. His wife and teaches mathematics part time at Berwick Junior High School. They have five children: Craig, 28, is a chartered accountant in Bermuda; Jill, 27, is a computer specialist with a trucking firm; Roger, 24, has a degree in physical education, runs a law firm and Paul, 21, are, respectively, students in physical education at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., and at business at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, N.S. A former construction in local intermediate hockey, Paul is a Conservative and community activist now serving the final year of a three-year term in Berwick town councillor. He said that he plans to seek re-election in October. He is chairwoman of the local hockey rink, coaches a minor-league hockey team and operates a swimming-pool installation business during the summer school holidays. In his remaining few hours of free time, he does woodworking and reads historical essays.

After hearing participants criticize the lack of informative Canadian-history texts, Paul expressed one item about the way history is taught in Canada. "I was not fully aware of the inequalities within our education system, the different histories taught in Quebec and across the country," he said. "We must get rid of the Canadian textbooks that exalts one another. Part of that is due to what we teach—or do not teach—one another about Canada."

Sheila Simpson, a retired teacher, former aide made him realize how little Canadians know about one another. "We are going to have to do some teaching," he told other participants shortly before the conference ended. More importantly, he added, was the need for all citizens "to see with the other person's eyes."

SHEILA SIMPSON St. Andrews, N.B.

Sheila Simpson, an energetic single mother of two teenagers who is also a teacher, community activist and store owner in St. Andrews, N.B., set out with second thoughts to take part in the Maritimes forum on Canada's future. Apart from her reputation as a local historian, the 46-year-old Simpson had been organizing an aquaculture trade fair in St. Andrews—the current town on Passamaquoddy Bay, at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, where she has lived for the past 14 years. "Just getting things settled enough as I could leave for a few days was exhausting," she recounted later. And as she flew in her native province—she was born in Sussex, Ont.—she was excited about the challenge. Simpson arrived, but also surprised. She felt the session expressing renewed optimism about Canada's future, and with an unattainable sense of confidence.

During the initial discussion on the state of the nation, Simpson declared: "There is less cohesion and more discrimination as the economy worsens—increasing discrimination based on race or religion, or whatever the difference might be." She added that "people feel discriminated inherently, that they are normal in a state. They look out at each other—or at the guy lower down."

Those concerns reflected Simpson's emphasis on the importance of



the human element in Canada's efforts to surmount its political and economic problems. Indeed, although she graduated from Toronto's York University with a bachelor's degree majoring in economics, she turned to other interests: business, economics, she says, "mean always building models and not factoring in the human beings." Instead, the compact five-foot, 116-lb graduate taught physical education for 11 years in Ontario, and "loved it." Now, in addition to running her anti-street shop, Boutique La Folie, which stocks "a little of everything" from clothing and toys to souvenirs, she teaches at St. Andrews community college class in entrepreneurship and services to the local planning advisory committee. Simpson is also a tireless promoter of her community's attractions: during one break in discussion about the country's future, she dug into her handbag and pulled out a floral St. Andrews logo pins and tourist

brochures, which she handed out to the other participants.

Simpson, flashing her good-humored grin, says that she ended up in St. Andrews "by mistake." She said that she and her husband moved there in 1977 from Kaslo, Ont., in what proved to be a vain attempt to save their floundering marriage. Since the divorce, she has raised their children, James, now 17, and Nicola, 15. But Simpson is a proud advocate of many of the ideas that have taken root in her adopted province and at the Maritimes. She endorsed New Brunswick's official bilingualism as the current stepchild of the Maritime provinces to begin a closer economic union. But she also expressed concerns about what she termed "abuse of the unemployment insurance system"—especially in regions where reliance on unemployment benefits has become entrenched—and the drag of Canadian taxes on economic performance. Declared Simpson: "The tax situation is obviously one of the factors behind cross-border shopping. We've got to become more efficient."

As the forum discussion progressed, the apprehension that Simpson experienced beforehand evaporated quickly. "I felt immediately positive about the three-day term we were going to work with, their abilities and empathy," she said. Indeed, she added that she plans to use some of the reporting techniques that she learned during the weekend in her community college course and on the St. Andrews planning committee, which often has fierce debates about zoning questions. And overall, the forum "virtually renewed my optimism about the country," she said afterwards.

Simpson, a Red Sox fan, said according to Decora's poll-form analysis, said before the discussion that she felt that all regions of the country should have equal power. Afterwards, however, she said that she was pleased with the agreement that she and her fellow participants reached on a more generous and understanding approach to the country's problems. "I think my friends and I really will be amazed at what we accomplished," she said. "I think one of the most important things that weekend brought home to me is that this nation responsibility you give people the better they perform." And for Sheila Simpson, that belief clearly means that Canadians, faced with the responsibility of dealing with challenges to their country's very survival, may in the end perform better than many people expected.

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Negotiator Robert Riddings (second from left) discusses details with Dupuis (left), LeBeau and Miller, a human dimension

A Canadian Renewal

Representative citizens find new ways to reinvent the country



They were Canadians. And as Canadians, their conditions were characteristically modest, so trying declarations of rights in statements of demands, but "just suggestions" for their fellow citizens to consider.

Each of the 12 participants in the *Maclean's* weekend forum on Canada's future was intimated and concerned for the country, but no one was an expert on the framing of constitutional or the procedural details of politics. And they were working under a seven-hour constraint: three days in which to determine whether they could develop a vision for a united Canada. As a result, their proposals were predictably incomplete. Not all were original. Many of them were parallel to initiatives that are already under way. And all are open to criticism of one sort or another. But taken together, the suggestions that bear the signature of all 12 participants are an inspiring joint creation. And as the authors intended, they represent significant steps

towards a country "in which all Canadians would feel fully accepted, at home, fairly treated and with an appropriate balance between national concerns and local autonomy" (all text, page 52).

The participants concluded that change must extend far beyond the dry wording of the Constitution. They pointed to three critical areas that require attention. Under the subheading "Mutual Understanding," their proposals call for a conscious effort on the part of Canadians to open their hearts and minds to the differences among the regions, cultures and communities that make up the nation. On economic matters, they urge Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to initiate directives in the economy by commissioning independent, non-partisan and confidential to draw up a "national plan" that would set the country's resources used to the greatest national advantage. And they suggest sweeping changes in the structure and the political process. Others, their recommendations, if implemented, would dramatically weaken the power of all political parties, forcing elected representatives to become far more responsive

to their voters. "That would create a Canada you could believe in," commented Marie LeBeau, a computer programmer from Hull, Que., who came to the forum as a committed separatist, as the proposals took shape. As her enthusiasm mounted, she added "Don't you like it? Wouldn't it be fun?"

That *Maclean's* would certainly respond to concerns that have been raised with growing intensity well beyond the political boundaries of the forum report in central Ontario, where the forum gathered. A diary of recent opinion polls—widely the seventh annual *Maclean's*/Desnoes year-end poll, published in January—have underscored the priority that Canadians place on restoring coherence in the economy, as well as their profound disillusionment with the functioning of Parliament.

Many of the experts commissioned by *Maclean's* about the forum's proposals also strongly endorsed the conviction that no constitutional tinkering can succeed if Canadians fail to overcome their entrenched regional and communal polarities. "The problem we have," says Thomas d'Aquino, president of the conservative Reform Council on National Issues, "is that people are so suspicious of everyone else's agenda that it's really the big challenge."

At the same time, the 12 Canadians devised comparatively little attention to some of the most heated issues that dominate the debate among constitutional experts. The question of language was raised and briefly discussed—but proved not to be highly contentious. Neither multiculturalism nor Quebec's demand for explicit recognition in the Constitution as a "distinct society" emerged as pivotal points. As for the thorny problem of what formula should replace the current unwieldy method of amending the Constitution, the participants acknowledged that they were not equipped to offer specific new suggestions.

Still, the forum participants reached agreement on creative recommendations to critical challenges that confront the country in three key areas. Indeed, polls and other soundings of public opinion offer strong support for the priorities set out by the *Maclean's* forum in its united attempt to define a new Canada. In *Maclean's* year-end poll, 69 per cent of Canadians surveyed said that economic concerns—ranging from taxation to unemployment—outweighed educational and the most important issue facing the country. A poll by Gallup Canada late last year: the same month reached a similar conclusion.

There is a comparable national consensus that politicians must become more responsive to those who elect them: 63 per cent of Canadians questioned in the *Maclean's* poll said that they wanted a more direct role in the decisions of government. 77 per cent said that governments should be required to consult the public before making new decisions. Later reports by other pollsters buttressed those findings as well. Gallup, for one, reported that almost three-quarters of respondents to a May 1 to 4 poll said that Canada would be better off if its leaders followed the views of the people more closely. One result, as the participants readily agree the *Maclean's* forum suggest, could be a historic shift in favor of a government closer to the American model than the British.

On two other important issues, the 12 Canadians who participated in the *Maclean's* forum appear to reflect accurately the views of their fellow citizens. In conclusions due to be released this week, the Federal Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, chaired by Keith Spence, will report on finding that "the majority of Canadians" now desire that the unresolved claims of native people should be addressed. The same theme runs throughout the conclusions of the *Maclean's* forum. The Spence commission's report will also recommend a review of official

linguistics, and note that "the policy is a major irritant outside Quebec and not much appreciated inside Quebec." When the *Maclean's* forum participants—men and women, including four Quebecers—discussed the language issue, there was surprisingly little disagreement.

At one stage, New Scotia biology teacher John Paul asserted that "bilingualism, legislated right across Canada, was a mistake"—a view according to Gallup. In response, the committed federalist among the Quebecers, Robert Lalonde, a technical adviser from Gatineau, near Ottawa, observed that when "you push people against a corner, they have a tendency to want to push back." He added "It is better to do it voluntarily." Later, LeBeau told Paul that with or without the protection of official bilingualism, "I am not afraid of losing my language. I haven't lost it in 200 years."

But the *Maclean's* participants were more concerned with proposals that might widen the nation over its vast distances and divergent communities than with the divisive thrust of bilingualism. Indeed, their first recommendation had no direct bearing on either the machinery of politics or the pursuit of prosperity. "We suggest," the forum participants wrote, "that Canadians devote substantial effort to the human dimension—to understanding one another, to caring and sharing their concerns and ideas." And virtually, they expressed a sentiment that may be far more widely held than many political leaders acknowledge. Two recent findings by Gallup, at least, point towards the same conclusion.

In one, 70 per cent of all Canadians polled—and 69 per cent of Quebecers—favored the staging of 20 Canada Day sporting events. And at another, 77 per cent of people surveyed said that they considered the national (CBC) television network to be necessary to preserving the country. Declared participant Carol Gidycz, a film-maker from Whitehorse, Yukon, expressing a shared perception among forum members, "Canadians don't have a national media."

Still, after a weekend of deliberation, debate and frequently emotional encounters, the 12 Canadians who participated in the *Maclean's* forum reached agreement on a statement of general principles that formed a five-paragraph preamble. The rest of the document that they drafted is a detailed array of specific recommendations, arranged to focus on three critical areas.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

In 1995, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King marked "110 years" since his birth, but his legacy of "peace, progress and prosperity" has been more elusive. Divided by climate, geography and distance, and preoccupied with different economic imperatives, "Canadians," the *Maclean's* forum concluded, "have become increasingly concerned with their own immediate interests and those of their neighbors, their immediate community and their province—and are more likely to ignore the interests of minorities, of other groups and of other provinces."

Indeed, it quickly became apparent how little the 12 participants themselves understood one another's experiences and viewpoints. Their three-day sojourn of mutual discovery, however, produced a remarkably optimistic set of suggestions for their fellow citizens. As their final document noted, "Constitutional questions have a better chance of being well handled if Canadians work together to develop greater understanding, empathy, tolerance, positive concern and a willingness to change."

The forum addressed its suggestions first to Canadians themselves. Said Lalonde: "We have politicians who represent us—we elected them



Address: 'terrified of government'

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

If we want to change something in government, we had better change ourselves." But their proposals extended to specific groups, as well, to the teachers who shape the perceptions of young Canadians in service clubs such as the Kiwanis and Rotary organizations whose networks span provincial and linguistic boundaries, to the media, and to provincial and federal governments. To the latter, the forum directed an onerous plea that reflected the mood of the country's problems—of politicians give them the opportunity. They urged Ottawa to appoint a commission whose objective would be "to find programs or projects in any province that are successful, and promote their replication in other areas."

Other proposals covered as wide a scope. Noting that "there are places in Canada as quarrelsome as those elsewhere," participants in the Maclean's forum urged their fellow citizens to travel more widely within the country, and, while travelling, to "establish personal contact with others through professional, business or other connections." Said participant Cyril Akpan, a Montreal youth-aid-society company manager: "A lot of Quebecers do not visit the rest of Canada. They visit more [of] the United States than they do their own country."

To change that practice, the forum urged service clubs to sponsor package trips within Canada among their members. It also called on corporations to "consider business travel and meetings as opportunities to meet other Canadians."

But many of the participants' most compelling proposals for reintroducing Canadians to themselves were directed at schools—and at provincial departments of education. Their reasoning was straightforward: Canada's youngest citizens "are our future," said Karen Collins, a nurse—and mother of a teenager—who lives in rural southern Ontario. "They are the ones we should be trying to educate and help to become aware." To that end, the forum urged educators to "compare curricula with teachers from other schools in Canada for fairness," and to "invite guest speakers from different parts of Canada" into their schools.

Participants also recommended that departments of education "work with those in other provinces on curriculum changes to promote closer 'all-Canada' understanding [and] exchange, as a national project, for the writing of a good history of all Canadians for all Canadians." Declared LeBeau: "The first subject in school would be Canada 101."

That clearly is not the case now. In fact, a survey published by the Council of Ministers of Education earlier this year revealed that none provincial and territorial senior high-school and secondary school curricula contain more than half a dozen courses devoted to Canadian history, geography, even art culture. The curricula in Alberta and Quebec offer only two such courses. In addition, notes Mark Holman, a professor of education administration at Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the equipment for provincial curricula inhibits the movement of teachers from one region to another. As a result, and Holman, "Canadians, especially young Canadians, are very ignorant of other provinces."

Other experts note that even when courses about Canada are offered they are considered more to regional investment than to national understanding. "You can have Canadian studies that still promote the various ideological hatreds," attacked historian Desmond Morton, principal of the University of Toronto's Rotman campus. Recalling his own Premier school days, Morton noted "I learned how the West was oppressed by evil easterners, because that was what was taught in Saskatchewan in 1897 and 1946." In New Brunswick, which leads all other provinces in offering its junior- and high-school students 12 Canadian studies courses—five of those compulsory—Premier Frank McKenna acknowledged: "Young people here know absolutely nothing about the West—and not vice versa." He added: "One of the big roadblocks in achieving national unity is a complete lack of understanding of our mutual aspirations."



Studying the final draft: strong measures to make politicians more responsive to voters

about the West—and not vice versa." He added: "One of the big roadblocks in achieving national unity is a complete lack of understanding of our mutual aspirations."

His comment underscored the urgency expressed by the Maclean's forum for involved Canadians to play a critical role in healing the divisions that rack the nation.

THE ECONOMY

The magnitude of the problem is undeniable. After 14 months of recession, more than 1.4 million Canadians are without work. Thousands of shoppers go to the United States each week to buy cheaper goods. Many corporations are also relocating there. Both groups blame Canada's high taxes, which governments in turn blame on their generous budget deficits and on the need to fund social programs. The Canadian enterprises that remain struggle to adjust to the new realities at global competition and free trade—possibly soon to include Mexico.

For its part, the Conservative federal government has relied largely on market forces to restore the economy's vigor. But it quickly became clear that the Maclean's forum did not share the government's free-market conviction. Instead, the 12 Canadians urged the Prime Minister to convene a meeting of leaders in business, science and economics, and to draft with them "a co-ordinated, coherent national industrial policy. Free trade may have expanded the playing field, the participants acknowledged, but it has not lessened—and may even have increased—



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the need for a skilled quarterback to bring some order to the national economic game.

At first glance, that interventionist prescription must counter to many of the conservative tenets of the past decade. Commented John Balliol, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB): "The idea that you can direct economies from the centre is dead." At the same time, the participants heeded away from another conservative economic tenet—the pursuit of balanced public budgets—saying governments intend to budget "responsibly."

In fact, the Bross group avoided proposing that the federal government direct the nation's economy in detail from Ottawa. Said Kazuo Adams, a self-employed knitwear designer from Toronto: "I'm terrified of anything that government gets involved with." The forum's proposal, instead, would involve the federal government only to implement a plan devised largely by business to make the best use of national resources in science, education, tax policy and finance.

Still, their vision is ambitious. Its centerpiece is a committee, convened by the office of the prime minister, that would bring together representatives from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and—despite Balliol's skepticism—the CFIB, as well as presidents of major Canadian companies, the head of the National Research Council Canada and an array of international consultants. The committee would be given as much leeway as it wishes "to identify Canadian competitive strengths and propose methods to take advantage of them." Acknowledging the source of much of its inspiration, the forum added: "The policy will be modelled to some extent after the one in Japan, and may include a ministry of international trade and industry (MITI)"—the architect of that country's decadal economic "miracle" statements.

Among the ideas that the *Maclean's* forum proposed for consideration by the national committee are several familiar ones: the reduction of interprovincial trade barriers; closer co-operation among business, universities and governments over restructuring programs and financial incentives for research and development in "strategic" industries.

Others were new. Among them: mandating the National Research Council to co-ordinate research in publicly funded laboratories and relocating the federal fisheries and agriculture departments closer to the people who are responsible; urging municipalities to have powerhouses in some parts of the country and refuse to merit water applications. Prominent among these is a proposal—modelled on Quebec's highly successful *Caisse de dépôt et placement*, which oversees \$36 billion in provincial pension and automobile insurance funds—to encourage other Canadian pension and insurance funds to invest in new businesses.

Some critics expressed doubt that an approach based on successful models in the comparatively insular Japanese corporate culture of Japan and French-speaking Quebec can easily be transplanted to the Canadian economy as a whole. Commented the CFIB's Balliol: "In Japan, the elevator operators give you the same Moody like in the head of MITI. In English Canada, we are so individualistic it wouldn't work."

Other experts firmly supported the forum's recommendations. Said Nancy Macle, executive vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress: "Since 1984, we've had a market economy based on a conservative agenda. It hasn't worked." By contrast, Ritchie says that the direction proposed by the *Maclean's* forum has promise—as long as representa-



Alesya (left), Pratt: agreement that Canadians do not know their own country

tives of original-line job business leaders in drawing up the proposed national plan. "With the right players," she said, "we may be able to do something." Noting the forum's emphasis on competitiveness, the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI) also said that its conclusions offer an opportunity to rally the country around clear economic goals. "The ideas are there," he said. "What is missing is the consensus—and action." Added Alesya: "I hate all of my hat to these guys. You get people together and you discover a tremendous amount of common sense."

In fact, some of the group's proposals are already in place. In January, the federal government announced the creation of a Labor Force Development Board, with 22 members—18 of them representing business and labor. It began work in May to improve national training programs. Ottawa has also announced its intent to eliminate provincial trade barriers.

Despite those baggages, however, the 12 Canadians who signed the Bross document are clearly not alone in their conviction that the economy is not of control. Said Thomas Ricman, president of Toronto's C. D. Howe Institute, a nonprofit policy research foundation funded largely by business: "People believe the Mulroney government has given up meeting market forces, and they are being run to the wolves." That concern was clearly reflected in the Bross proposals.

THE CONSTITUTION

Just before 10 p.m. on the first night of the weekend, Ontario's Collinsville facilitated the heart of the issue for many Canadians. "No one is listening to us," she said. "Decisions are made before we are aware of the problem. What leadership there is, I just feel that they are bawling at us." The indifference of Canadian federalism was so damning that it might easily have been dismissed as an extreme—if it were not evident that many other Canadians share Collinsville's view.

The language was less charged 43 hours later, when, late on Sunday afternoon, the 12 participants at the *Maclean's* forum signed the final document outlining their recommendations for a renewed nation. But the striking loss of faith in the present government's willingness or

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ability to represent the people was the same. "The current system," that document states, "does not afford some peoples, regions, provinces and communities within Canada the tools needed to adequately promote their interests." The government, as currently structured, is not sufficiently representative.

The forum's sharply focused proposals for reform would radically alter that structure. The power of political parties would diminish dramatically, with a corresponding expansion of the role of royal commissions in policy making. Native Canadians would be assured of representation in the Commons—and in six other bodies whose members that concerned them were discussed. And governments would be obliged to pay for closer attention to citizens in public opinion.

At the same time, most of those reforms could be accomplished without the need to amend the Constitution. Indeed, the most critical proposals require little more than amendments to the Canada Elections Act—changes that Parliament can effect alone. So far, in fact, request no change in legislation at all—only a departure from the traditions of parliamentary practice.

At the heart of the forum's proposals are three related recommendations that would leave elected members to become far more responsive, and less "representative," in the (classical sense associated with that tradition). Those changes include fixed terms for members of Parliament and senators (an elected upper house was one of the few suggested reforms that would require a constitutional amendment), staggered elections, in which only a portion of the two chambers would face re-election at one time, and free voting by MPs, independent of party discipline. "We would not be bound to vote with the government," said Richard Miller, a British Columbia Crown prosecutor. At the same time, he added, "If opposition did not pass, the government would not have to resign."

Meanwhile, staggered elections, held as frequently as every two years for a portion of seats in the Commons, would "keep the party in power on their toes," argued Charles Dupont, a longtime lawyer from Montreal. Declared Dupont: "They would know at all times that the majority they have now could be wiped out in two years."

The goal of a more responsible government in a form that bears strong echoes of the American system may have wide appeal for many Canadians. But one of Canada's leading constitutional experts, a University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simeon, noted that several of the proposed reforms require close scrutiny. Staggered elections, for one, would allow Canadians "to vote every two years," he acknowledged, "but they only vote for one-third of the House. You couldn't turn the government out in the same way." And Simeon questioned the merits of reform modeled on the United States. There, he said, "The cohesion of the party has practically disappeared." As a result, "Congress is unacceptably responsive. But it can also be almost paralyzed."

Canadians will see two sets of electoral reform proposals emerge this fall, both aimed at restoring the public's shattered confidence in the political process. But it is a stability that either will reflect the direction proposed at the forum. The federal Royal Commission on Electoral Reform will produce a report in November. Its main proposal is to "strengthen the democratic rights of citizens [and] encourage effective representative." Although some Canadians made proposals similar to those advanced by the Maclean's forum during public hearings before the royal commission earlier this year, commissioner Pierre Parizeau said

that they will not be "a significant part of whatever thrust our report will take." Instead, he said, the commission will concentrate on proposals designed to make political parties more open to new ideas from the public.

Political Conservative House Leader Horne Andrie has also pledged to deliver recommendations that fall designed to restore any credibility with voters. But, although five votes are among the proposals he is considering, Andrie also made it clear during an interview with Maclean's that he favors strengthening the position of political parties rather than weakening them. Declared Andrie: "Political parties are virtually the only institutions in the country that have an interest in trying to reach a consensus."

The Maclean's forum would change that perception as well. In a strikingly original proposal, the 32 men and women agreed that the venerable Canadian institution of the royal commission be given a new

importance as the pre-eminent mechanism for citizens to contribute to the creation of national policy. To that end, the participants at the forum recommended that "the commission system [be] reformed so that the result of the commission's inquiry shall be turned into draft legislation to be put before the legislative bodies for debate and vote." As Maclean's Dupont explained it, "These royal commissions, they take a few months, they do the report goes onto the shelf. We should force the government to hold a vote on the report." He added: "If you don't want to see it, at least the one whose going to decide is the person I voted for."

The participants were all obviously eager to ensure a greater role in the political process for active Canadians. They called for "guaranteed representation for the First Nations of Canada" in both the Commons and the Senate, as well as "in federal forums discussing issues or dealing with policy affecting the First Nations"—including any future negotiations between Ottawa and the provinces over constitutional reform. The forum members also recommended giving the First Nations a voice alongside the provinces in negotiations with Ottawa over the future of municipal governance. That development, said the Yukon's Giddens, might lead quickly to the disappearance of the federal department of Indian Affairs. Added Giddens, a member of the Thlingit nation: "We don't want everything always in the hands of the federal government."

And we want the ability to determine what our social issues are and what the solutions are."

At the same time, Giddens, whose films document the achievements as well as the adversities of Canada's natives, made an emotional plea for understanding that the First Nations are not active in leaving Confederation. "In fact," she said, "what the elders are saying is that we have something to give to Canada—and we would like to be able to share that."

Giddens' words captured the spirit that, often eloquently, permeated the dramatic weekend at the Bracco. It is a sense that may also underlie the surface anger of many Canadians who say that they have been shut out of the central institutions of their own country. Beneath their simmering frustration resides a more positive emotion: a deep desire to contribute to the reconstruction of Canada as a single nation. The same hopeful emotion is manifest in the conclusions of the 32 remarkable Canadians who forged the Bracco's consensus.

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A Weekend Of Candor

At first, the group had little in common



They were strangers to one another, a disparate group of 12 Canadians united mostly by a common uncertainty about the weekend ahead. Traveling by plane, bus and helicopter, they came on June 7 from distant corners of the country to the privacy of the Bears resort on Ontario's Lake Simcoe to see if they could find a common voice of Canada. "We need to understand each other and appreciate some of the issues," said Wella Cornesko-Schneider, an Edmonton social worker, as she boarded the bus that would take her and seven of the others from Toronto's Pearson International Airport to the resort. But to believe that such openness could lead to a shared approach for uniting the country, she acknowledged, "may be just too idealistic."

Meanwhile, the team of Harvard University-affiliated negotiators was already at the Bears, arranging the seating in the main conference room. To a military services officer, director of the Harvard Negotiation Project, his first attempt to grapple with the subtleties of Canada's regional discontent was like "taking a dive off the high board without knowing if there was water in the pool yet." A measure of that challenge would come early the first night, when Fisher, referring to Canada's French-English tensions, likened the country's problems to a "marriage in trouble." Carol Golder, a Tlingit native from the Yukon, reminded Fisher that Canada's First Nations also deserved to be part of any new compact. Said a suddenly smiling Golder, "I reject the metaphor of marriage, unless you are talking about polygamy."

Fisher and his two associates from his conflict resolution services, Conflict Management Group (CMG), would devote the Friday night session to exploring the symptoms and causes of Canada's crisis. His aim was to get the participants to start by listing their country's problems. The difficult task of getting them to explore new options for the future would wait for the later in the weekend.

None of that was known to the participants themselves as they traveled to the Bears. Charles Dupuis, a Montreal lawyer and a committed Quebec sovereigntist, later recalled that he felt like a Christian on the way to the hotel. As the bus rolled through the countryside north of

Toronto, Montreal business manager Cyril Allayne laughingly told Dupuis: "In two or three hours, we'll all be of the same opinion, and then we will go play golf."

Commons finally did come, although it took the longer than Allayne predicted. What follows is the story of that journey: a remarkable, and often emotional, encounter among 12 Canadians.

OPENING SESSION, FRIDAY, 5:40 P.M.

With the newly arrived, travel-weary participants still slightly bewildered about what was expected of them, members of the negotiating team begin the session by explaining their technique of resolving conflict.

ROBERT RICHIARDI (cmg): This reminds me of one of those old dark horror movies that you see on Saturday afternoons where there is a castle that has a perennial thunderstorm and there are 12 people mysteriously invited to some event and they spend two hours figuring out why they were invited.

Well, why are we invited to work together, regardless of what we come in with. We've got a common problem.

STUART DIAMOND (cmg): This weekend, we hope to have a discussion about mutual concerns and interests about the future of Canada. We are experts on process, on how people talk to one another, which we have found to be at least as important as what they talk about. By analogy, many people we loved say "I like to get there, I don't care what road I take." We've found that which road you take often depends on whether or not you get there.

We are not experts on Canada. We are experts on process—the process of dealing with differences. None of us should feel pressure, because we don't have any authority to decide anything and no one is obligated to follow any of our advice.

FISHER: There is no magic in this, and the biggest mistake people make in negotiating is to decide first, and then talk and drink later. It is important to recognize our own bias. We all look at the world from the bell tower of our own village. And we want to recognize that we have no right



The opening session on Friday night (right) the Bears, where the forum took place (bottom left). Left: Fisher, Laizotte, Allayne and Cornesko-Schneider meet on the bus ride from Toronto (bottom right) creating a new—and realistic—option for Canada.

politics of language. It is the only time during the weekend that the contentious issue is raised at length. LeBlanc complies to her dinner companion that she feels assaulted—and exalted—by bad French grammar, which is treated by the infiltration of English expressions. That concern was echoed by Quebec's provincial sign law, she argues, which prohibits the use of languages other than French on commercial signs. Although she later says that the law was "not necessary" and that the Quebec government "could get rid of the law tomorrow," LeBlanc notes that Quebecers "were just trying to make a point."

FISHER: On the language thing, which is obviously a fairly serious issue.

LEBLANC: It is a lot of extreme emotion.

PRALL: Bilingualism, where Pierre Elliott Trudeau came in and legislated that thing right across Canada, I think was a mistake.

LALANDE: You push people against a corner and they have a tendency to want to push back. It is better to do it voluntarily rather than legislate it.

SIMPSON: Look what's happening in New Brunswick. We're getting the CoR (Consideration of Regions) party, who are sort of right-wing because they feel threatened economically and so forth because of bilingualism. You see it's always come back to that it's French nationalism in the rest of the country. If I move to Vancouver, I would never expect my daughter to find a school where she could study in French. It's normal. I am used to all the fuss in Winnipeg when there are 52 kids and they want a French school. Come on. Get real.

● The conversation soon moves on to the issue of Quebec's sign law.

PRALL: For your tourists coming in, or if I drive through there, I wouldn't know where I was.

LEBLANC: Do you expect bilingual signs in France?

PRALL: In France? I'm talking about Quebec.

LEBLANC: To me, that is responsible to understand. If I go to Vancouver, I'll see signs in English and I won't know it. And if my life depends on it, when I go to the States I'll read them in Spanish if I have to.

● Over coffee, Dupuis and Lalonde recount to the American audience how the media, by emphasizing conflict, helped foster the climate of mistrust in Canada. To illustrate their point, the two Quebecers recount "the Brockville incident," when protesters ripped their feet on a Quebec fleur-de-lis flag to that Ontario city. Television coverage of the protest was shown repeatedly on Quebec newscasts.

DUPUIS: They had a Quebec flag on the ground and, one after the other, they stepped on the flag and said that it was there and the cameras showed it over and over and over.

LALANDE: This was the news media from the Quebec side. So we see the perception that was left from there.

RICIOLANDI: You can see how they make a small problem look like it's a huge problem.

DUPUIS: The Canadian media, I think, don't help Canadian unity.

RICIOLANDI: The great thing to see beside conflict. People getting along and making nice just doesn't seem to be newsworthy. There could be 90-year-old agreements, the media wants to cover the 30-year-old disagreement.

Audience members like there is no agreement at all. I think a lot of that has happened here.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION, 9:40 P.M.

● After dinner, the participants return to the main conference room for a vibrant session to wrap the day. Fisher, wary of allowing the language debate to develop into a wider argument, downplays the significance of language disputes. Later in the weekend, he will tell the group that language only defines the rules of the debate. Linguistic security would be attained, he will suggest, when both sides believe that they are on a solid common footing, and where there is a respect and voluntary acceptance of the other language group. But tonight, Fisher says only, "I am surprised at how emotional and sensitive the language question is, with so few clear idealizations of what is wrong and what would be right."

As the first steps past 10 p.m., Fisher outlines his plans to the group members for the Saturday session. He will demonstrate, he tells them, why none of the existing visions of Canada will ever work. But say new vision, he says, will have to come from the participants. "We have analyzed tools, we have no answers," Fisher says, standing at the head of the room. "You give us the answers. We give you the tools." They end the session at 10:13 p.m.

Later, Fisher and his colleagues say that they are heartened by the first day. Canada's problems have been exposed, the outpouring of grievances is—perhaps—over. Now, they have to convince the group members to listen to other points of view, and explore new solutions.

They would have been even more encouraged had they heard Collins speaking to Lalonde at the breaking of dinner. Discussing Dupuis's determined defense of Quebec's position earlier that day, she said, "What he was



● **Conservative-Schneider notes an idea while Fenn, Collins and Dupuis watch (above). Miller enters his head as LeBlanc, Fenn and Adams notice: "We need radical surgery."**



saying about being afraid of being treated like a minority was all new to me. I was more aware of the native problem (that of Quebec's government). This is what I came to find out the other side. And I needed it tonight. It's opening my eyes."

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION, 8:30 A.M.

● Conversation is stirred at the session begins. "Miracle we would have gone for a swim in the lake here," Riciolandi says. "It is difficult to go from 'I just had breakfast' to 'Now I'm going to solve Canada's problems.'" But the participants soon become animated, especially when Miller takes of hearing the complaints about Canada and compares it to an unopposed debate of the country. The outline of the group's final document emerges as the participants list their major concerns.

Reopening what the group has already achieved, Fisher begins. "What we heard yesterday were some of the possible causes of some of the left symptoms: economic discrimination, minority treatment, lack of representation." Now, he wants them to suggest possible broad categories for action.

SIMPSON: Is this promising Quebec stays within Confederation?

FISHER: We are not excluding at the moment. We are going to say Quebec is undecided. Canada is undecided. We are going to see if we can create a good solution for Canada to solve Quebec. If we were advising Quebec, I would say: "Don't decide until you know what the deal is."

RICIOLANDI: Contrary to the normal process of events where people would decide soon whether there would be independence or not, we are going to slow that process down. Let's first understand what some of the issues and demands are. Then, let's develop a full range of options.

LALANDE: I wonder if we could put it in a one word: empathy, for people around you. If you could accept the other person, you would solve a lot of these problems automatically.

LEBLANC: First subject in school would be Canada 101.

COLLINGS: Let's understand each other's problems and let's stop fighting. Tell me what your problems are as a businessman and I will tell you what my problems are as an employee. And then together look at what are personal solutions.

● Later, Fisher will tell the group: "Boy oh boy. We came here as a Quebec conference and I see all these technical arguments about the Constitution. I come back with a bunch of human beings worried about other human beings and how they understood each other. It is a refreshing, non-legalistic approach to what's going on here."

All the participants agree on the need for Canadians to find ways to simply get along better. But the conversation soon swings to the nuts and bolts of how to make a better Canada. As Miller states, "It has to be decided if we should go to more protected control."

DUPUIS: This Constitution has to be changed, and the way to change it has to be changed.

PINK: I am hearing that we need a government to do all of these things for us, and I am of the opinion that we government involvement is needed. I keep hearing people say "Well, I am waiting for the government to solve the problems and I am waiting for the government to come up with social programs that are comfortable." It's got to come back to individual responsibility. Canadians control their destiny.

LALANDE: We got a problem—a real representation, they are our image in the world. It is not actually, it is our problem.

COLLINGS: Canadians tend to be too quiet. They may have a problem, but they sit and maybe grumble to themselves.

FISHER: You're sort of saying "Stop aside. You haven't done very well. We'll take over and we'll see what we can do."

● At that point, with a mood of rebellion against Canadian governments threatening to swamp the room, Miller delivers a strongly worded warning to his colleagues—and provokes strong responses.

MILLER: I'm getting kind of anxious here because there seems to be this fundamental assumption that there is something drastically wrong with our country that needs changing. I think that geographically and historically, we are the luckiest people ever. We live in such a wonderful place at such a wonderful time, not because we are geographically better or inherently better than other people at other times or because of some sort of miraculous gas coming out of the earth that is creating this life. We live in

this wonderful time, and wonderful place because of the optimism that were created some time ago that have worked incredibly well over the past hundred or so years.

And for them being too quiet and too apathetic, what's going on now and what's been going on in the past decade or so is that we seem to be getting noisy for the sake of getting noisy. It's quibbling, and our problems are really minor problems. We seem to be more than in major problems. The danger is that is that we will wreck everything. We will destroy the systems that have given us what we're got, just for the sake of change. And I see that as a really dangerous thing.

GRUBBS: Do you think it's quibbling that Aboriginal people have the highest suicide rates in the world? The highest poverty rates in all Canada? This great land came from somewhere.

MILLER: I'm not a Pessimist. I'm not suggesting we are a nation without problems.

DUPUIS: With all due respect to Jack's opinion, it's not because you were always healthy and now you know you have a sickness. Don't put shades on your eyes to say, "Well, I was always healthy and this sickness will disappear by itself." This would be self-blindness.

RICHLAND: We don't want to hide the fact that we have a sick ache, but we don't want to pronounce the patient terminal.

MILLER: I was just suggesting that we don't need to toss out our whole system of nutrition just because we have a sick ache. Maybe just a little Band-Aid will work. Band-Aids do work sometimes.

CHURCH & SCHULZ: We need radical surgery.

MILLER: You don't have a lung transplant if you have a chest cold.

COLLING: No. But if you let a chest cold go, you get worse.

● Fisher then divides the participants into three groups of four, according to their interest in discussing ways to improve three Canadian problems: the constitutional impasse, the threat of economic decline and the lack of understanding and empathy among Canadians for one another. As two of the groups head outside to work at tables on the Beaver line, Fisher exhorts them to "tack problems into air vents." The aim is to write down as many options as possible for solving Canada's problems. No idea is to be criticized, evaluated or rejected. Or, as Diamond puts it to the economy group that he is leading, "If someone says 'Shoot the gun' on the five o'clocks."

The so-called multi-ethnic understanding group, led by Fisher, looks for ways to foster a better appreciation of other Canadians. The problem is articulated well by Nova Scotian Paul, who wistfully notes: "I've not gone to Quebec. I've not gone to Ontario to spend any amount of time. I'm a Quebecer. It was almost a cultural shock to go here and listen to our Carol Gaskins because we had no idea what problems the 'have' they suggested solutions include writing a more well-rounded history of Canada and requiring governments to clearly explain where tax revenues are being spent.

The economy group expresses many of the frustrations commonly held by Canadians. Among them are fears that Canada's economic future is bleak, that Canada is overtaxed and that taxes are too high. In the spirit of

examining all the options, the group suggests increasing unemployment, questioning the universality of social programs and considers western and Maritime union as a way to lower the cost of government.

Next, the Constitution group suggests several changes to the current system of government. Although it is composed of two former separatists (Dupuis and Gaskins), the group reaches consensus on several proposed changes to the way Canadian governments operate. Most notably, the group agrees that the emphasis on party discipline for members of Parliament continues to harm the reputation of the nation's representatives.

But signs of the tensions that will boil over in the Constitution group later that day begin to emerge in the morning session. For one thing, there is disagreement about how future constitutional negotiations should be



conducted. As Dupuis warns, "The more players, the more difficult it is to punch a ball and quick deal. We are getting sick and tired of talking about the Constitution. For the past three decades, the provinces have seen one another every year, and nothing happened."

DUPUIS: Let's call a cat a cat. Quebec needs all the powers to determine its own future.

GRUBBS: Before we talk of distribution of powers, our people are not even let to sit the door of the forum. We don't want to be covered by the term minorities or multiculturalism. Our identity is as a First Nation. We don't want to hear we are a minority.

MILLER: You can't reject the idea of being a minority in this country. We are talking about a number of groups of minorities. First Nations, Quebec. Every participant will be a minority in this discussion. All participants are minorities, whether they are British Columbians or Quebecers. There is no such thing as a majority.

GRUBBS: I accept that definition of a minority, but the word is a red flag to us.

DUPUIS: The more players you have, the harder it will be to get to consensus. The main groups consist of our Anglo Canadians and francophones, plus the natives. With two

Constitution subgroup meeting, seated from left, Dupuis, Miller, LeBeau and Gaskins. "It is incredibly naive to think you can leave Canada and maintain some personal relationship. There would be such bad feelings."

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may) going to the table, it is going to be a hell of a party. **MILLER:** But when do Chinese-Canadians get representation? Are they negligible?

DUPUIS: When they came here, they identified with the French or English. They made their choice. The same players should continue—not the provincial players, but the main cultural groups.

● Religious interviews, suggesting that the group consider a system of government that would preserve the elements of Canada that are working, and devise new ways of assuaging the feelings of natives and Quebecers, who feel underrepresented. To that, Miller notes: "I excluded language and culture under personal responsibility. That is a change." Seeking upon that theme, the group then agrees that, in any country, all citizens should have equal access to basic needs, such as education, but the content of particular programs should be determined by more local needs. The three groups break for a 12:25 p.m. lunch.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 P.M.

● With the entire forum reconvening as one group in the main conference room, Fisher presents four possible options for Canada's future in a strong federalist system, a loose confederation, an independent Quebec, and self-government for natives. By soliciting consensus of all four scenarios from the participants themselves, the negotiating team swiftly demonstrates that none of the alternatives could achieve majority support. The four prominent options of the day, he says dramatically, "have failed. Every one gets shut down."

The solution to Canada's problems, says Fisher, does not lie in pushing ever harder or shoving harder for one of the four existing choices. Adds Fisher, "Can we create a new option that looks as though it has a realistic chance,

something that political leaders can say 'yes' to?"

Some of the participants remain skeptical of the approach. Pedaling a stationary bicycle in an exercise room during a break later in the day, Geddes frets openly about what she is being asked to do. "Fisher says we shouldn't shout and scream for our position," she says. "But Quebec had to do it to be heard, and nations would not be listened to today if it weren't for Elgha Harper and Oka. I am worried that natives will demand to know why I did not defend their position more firmly."

But Geddes is not yet ready to take the challenge when, at 3:50 p.m., Fisher asks if anyone wants to "shoot louder for one of those four options." Along with the others, she returns to another session in the four-member groups.

Neither the economy nor the mutual understanding group has major problems reaching consensus on measures that a new Canada could adopt. But as the sun casts early-evening shadows over the constitutional committee, the fragile agreement of the morning comes unraveled. Both Dupuis and LeBeau balk at discussing what a new Canada would look like. "I did not change overnight," LeBeau tells Kingham, "I have already left Canada. I will discuss a Quebec state, not a federal one."

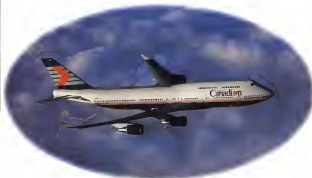
Kingham later tries to put a good face on the breakdown, calling it a "good, rocky session." Fisher is more blunt. "There was blood on the floor," he says afterward. "It was a disaster." The problem arises when Dupuis voices about future relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

DUPUIS: It is possible that it would be useful to keep contacts between two sovereign states by the medium of a senate. But as two free persons, we should have equal membership. Well, three senators, with the natives. My objective is sovereignty. If they wish to have their federal government, keep it. We don't need it.

MILLER: It is incredibly naive to think you can leave

■ Fisher (far right) makes a point during the Saturday early-evening session: "Let us think through what a Canadian country would look like, recognizing the grievances. We're not asking Quebec to abandon all notions of independence."

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Canada and maintain some personal relationship, that we allow all the good things you get from this relationship to continue and leave all the things you perceive as being bad. It is not going to happen. There would be such bad feelings.

DUPUIS: My idea is for Canada and Quebec. We both want to be provinces. We won't be trading. What does Canada have to lose?

MILLER: It is not that simple. You are talking about relations between two sovereign nations. How many prime ministers would them be?

DUPUIS: As many as you like.

MILLER: Not one.

DUPUIS: No Quebec will have its own. If you want a republic, a parliament of regions, go ahead. We will choose our route. You choose yours.

RICHLIANG: I'm going to make a decision about whether

to stay together or split apart, my advice would be not to make the decision unless you take a crack at designing a system that would work.

LEBEAU: You are asking me to design a system that would make me stay?

RICHLIANG: No. Design a system where Quebec controls what it wants.

DUPUIS: Anglo Canada cannot impose anything on French Quebec. That would be the real issue.

MILLER: But I point out that there is so much that is a non-official Anglo Canada.

DUPUIS: If Quebec says a clear 'no' to Canada, would Canada impose its views?

MILLER: You mean, would we send in the tanks?

By that point, a clearly worried Fisher has adjourned his group's discussion at a nearby table and joins Richliang's. Other participants pull chairs alongside to listen to the discussion. Among them, Allaire comments to fellow Quebecer Lalonde and Nova Scotian Pratt: "They will never realize what's going on at that table." The evidence is in the faces of the first people at the centre of the storm, Miller and Godkin sit angrily stone-faced. Dupuis, his right leg jiggling nervously, rubs his eyes repeatedly. And LeBeau, frustrated and angry, launches into a tirade, and poignant, description of how hurt Quebecers have been by what they perceive as rejection by the rest of the country.

Presently, but in a voice tinged with concern, Fisher argues that Dupuis and LeBeau should not blindly shut themselves out of a new Canada. Says Fisher: "Let us think through what a Canadian country would look like, recognizing the grievances. We're not asking Quebec to abandon all notions of independence."

LEBEAU: The only thing I can say is that I am fed up with hearing the way I am being seen. It is incredible. I don't have the words to say how I am hurt right now. I don't say it is right or wrong. Why have I left Canada? I don't want to hurt anyone. What has happened, I don't even want to know. I want to be... not here. (In a breaking voice.) And I think,



through the people that I meet every day, I am not alone. Friends told me, 'Go tell them. Lots of people hurt.'

FISHER: The fact that you're as pain doesn't say what of one self without knowing who it's there.

LEBEAU: Why take for granted it is a cliff?

FISHER: Yes, cannot assume that because you hurt you know what the best answer is. The cost of looking at that is very small. If we can help you efforts in directions that hold some promise, that's better than having a sterile debate. Does that make sense?

LeBeau responds with a hesitant: "yes." Dupuis, too, agrees: "We are not being asked to sign a blank cheque," he says, then breaks the tension and provokes laughter by joking, "We take blank cheques." But the exposed and tense nerves are still an evidence as Dupuis and Miller walk back to the main table together. As Dupuis tries to joke about the session, Miller cuts him off, saying: "We've got a problem, Charles."

SATURDAY DINNER, 8:30 P.M.

The conversation, which only that morning had seemed so easy, is now shattered. But the slow process of mending the group's divisions begins almost immediately. As they enter the dining room, Collings suggests that they push the three tables together so that they can eat as a group. "We can eat united, it nothing else," Miller says worry. While waiting for dinner to be served, LeBeau, Dupuis and Lalonde sit by themselves at the end of a long table, speaking to one another in French. They exclude former Quebec premier René Lévesque, and agree that under his leadership from 1976 to 1985, the Parti Québécois conducted what Lalonde called a "very destructive government." And they concur that both Canada and Quebec would survive independently if a breakup occurred.

Throughout the conversation, Collings moves closer to the group, finally pulling Lalonde aside to ask him, of LeBeau: "Does the cure that it would break Canada apart?" With Collings now included in the conversation, LeBeau

Talking over dinner on Saturday night, from left, Collings, Lalonde, Allaire, LeBeau and Pratt.

"We're not talking separation. We are talking getting together. I think we are unique and we have lost sight of that. Such different people for so long, and we're still together. And I bet that 250 years from now, we still will be. I hope that we still will be."



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LAMBEAU: We are children crying out for love. This country needs honesty. (Pointing at Collins, she says to Alice) Alice I don't want to beat her. I love her. (to Bob) And if I told her that I don't want her to decide what happens in my daughter's school—you know what?—maybe she is not offended by the idea. But someone said she should be. How about we ask her?

We're not talking separation. We are talking getting together. This is Canada according to me. I think we are unique and we have lost sight of that. Such different people for so long and we're still together. And I bet that 300 years from now, we still will be. I hope that we still will be.

COLLINGS: And I want you to be with us, the way it should be. Not the way it is. The way it should be.

LEBEAU: If kids are suffering in Nova Scotia, it hurts me. And if native women suffer at the Yukon, it hurts me. And I think we all have to shut up for some time and listen. We might not like what we hear. But we have got to listen. And

someone has to stand up and say: "You people shut up." I don't know what the answer is, but how about we listen?

COLLINGS: I think this is part of the answer.
LEBEAULT: If someone says that is rather impossible.

then I say 'OK, I'm going home, and if your kids starve I won't even give them a piece of bread.' This is why we are so miserable and substance poor. We want to do something.

COLLINGS: You're taking a risk by speaking. And I'm taking a risk by listening. But we need to do that.

LeBreault It is a question of survival to me. I don't want to lose Canada.

COLLINGS: (Forcibly, staring at Lillian.) And I don't want to lose you.

LEBEAUX: We are on to something here. And maybe someone should become aware that we might be losing it.

COLLINGS: (Shaking her head.) No.

GOLLINGS: That's why I'm here.

LAMARCA: God, I should say that and then I'd say, "But I just tell me the only way you can survive is this way, then I think I am ready to listen to you and you. Well, it's more

been done this way before. But maybe it can work' (I've whupped / Maybe we can try it. Tonight, I was asked to give answers. My only answer is that I am ready to try. And I would say, 'Let's get the politicians out of it.' This country is all about love and emotions, and it is the only subject we won't touch.

RICGLIANO: (After a long pause) Until tomorrow
COLLINGS: Until tomorrow

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION
9:15 A.M.

● The negotiating teams, having met late into the night to discuss strategy, have decided to shelve temporarily the nitty-gritty of constitutional debate. Instead, the two want to concentrate on ways to bridge the group's personal divisions. Says Fisher: "Canadians have to realize that they cannot ignore each other and write a piece of paper to solve the constitutional question. They can't. To tell with these people, let's get the working table."¹⁴

■ **Reviewing**
the final
draft on Sunday
afternoon (left):
Collings signing
the statement of
national principles
reaching consensus
after agreeing to
include a thorough
examination of
the Quebec
sovereignty option
and self-government
for First Nations

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you want me to recognize? Please tell me how. Talk loudly."

And Golden speaks. For nearly 15 minutes, she eloquently outlines how natives want to be part of Canada. As the rest of the group is drawn into the discussion, she tells them how native elders have preserved their culture in the face of slavery, skills, and how they want to contribute to a new Canada.

GRIDDES: There is always the perception that aboriginal people are looking for something, wanting a bigger piece of the big Canadian pie. In fact, what the elders are saying is that we have something to give to Canada, and Canada can be enriched by them.

DUPUIS: I have noticed that the native people have had a rough time. And it is not when it is easy that you grow, it is when it is rough. I think that it is good for them if they have the strength to pass through and get out of the rough times stronger.

GRIDDES: Most of what strength we have comes from the culture. The elders have kept it strong, through the disease, the bad health and social conditions, poverty, alcoholism. People do sometimes grow stronger through adversity. But that same adversity has killed a lot of our people. We have the highest suicide and violent-crime rates, and the lowest life-expectancy in all of Canada. I can't go along completely with [the notion that] we grow stronger through adversity. No. People die.

● Fisher says later that LeBlond's willingness to listen to Golden convinced him that a consensus could be reached. Soon after the exchange, he pulls from his pocket the first draft of a text and asks the group members for their opinions. The mood among the participants has shifted to one of mutual understanding. Dupuis apologizes to Golden for having said that natives should be "given" rights, noting that what was needed was to "recognize" existing rights. Golden-Schneider tells LeBlond that other Canadians also feel despair, much of it caused by economic suffering. And



Paul urges Quebecers to stay in Canada, not because they would be poorer if they left, but because "our association with Quebec is a synergistic one in that 2 and 2 is 5."

SUNDAY LUNCH, 1 P.M.

● As Rogrigues types the second draft of the forum's joint document on a portable computer in the main room, the group gathers for lunch in the dining room. Clearly, some difficulties remain to be addressed. At the table, Miller and Golden get into an angry exchange when Miller demands to know the meaning of entire self-government. Golden says

● Dupuis (left) kisses Golden on her hand before leaving on Monday. I observed the willingness of people to listen. That may be a start.

down, or deleted entirely, before the scheduled release of the final Spicer report on June 27.

The Bourke-Edwards committee reviewed its original position, finally drafted it at a 1971 conference in Victoria, about constitutional changes would require the approval of Quebec, Ontario, two western Atlantic provinces, and at least two western provinces containing at least 50 per cent of that region's population. Fundamental changes now require consensus; others can be made with the support of at least seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population.

The parliamentary committee calls for public hearings throughout the constitutional process, recommends greater involvement of native representatives (as does Spicer), and proposes a national referendum if negotiations become deadlocked. But to Canada's current constitutional climate, such measures may no longer be enough.

R. KATE PILTON with
GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

● LeBlond (left) and Simpson embrace before leaving the Brian's. "We switched from being divided. I had decided before. I am not now. I feel I lack 95 per cent of the information I need to make up my mind."

that the specifics would evolve once the principle was recognized. But Miller calls the concept "fused."

GRIDDES: If you don't want to look at the reasons why a people want to be sovereign, then we have no chance in talking. But we have lives already. What we're saying is "Because what we already have."

MILLER: You can't do that. I'm not saying their laws are stupid, incompetent and unwelcome. I'm saying the idea of sovereignty on its own is stupid and unwelcome.

GRIDDES: Well, if all Canadians have your view, we're going to be in the same position as Quebec: too little, too late. I can see us getting there.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, 2:10 P.M.

● Despite some disagreements, the group will appear before a nearby family plot on the shores of Lake Simcoe. Reading a commemorative plaque describing LeBlond's writing as "essentially Canadian in character and spirit," Dupuis expressed his shock that he had never heard of a man who, to many Canadians, clearly represented so much of the nation's soul. "Is it possible that it's the same for you, that you do not know who Félix LeBlond is?" he asked Miller, referring to the late Quebec writer and poet. Miller shook his head.

"We have a problem," the two new friends agreed.

When Rogrigues rises at 5:45 p.m. to leave to catch a

plane for an assignment in Greece, the participants break into applause. He has presided over the constitutional session, whose volatile air of opinions has threatened to scuttle the weekend. And he has been present during the emotional dinner conversation that pulled the group back together. Asked by Fisher if he has a "parted word" before departing, Rogrigues voices an emotional chord as he replies simply, in a choked voice, that "I suppose the way I feel now is an attachment to this group." As Rogrigues reaches for his personal bag and prepares to leave, LeBlond rushes towards him and gives him a hug. Wordlessly, the others gather around to embrace him and say goodbye, many of them crying. Rogrigues sips tears from his cheek as he leaves the room.

The emotional moment helps to seal unity. An hour and 30 minutes later, after a break for a swim and a final review of the third draft, the participants drink to sign. As the final signature is affixed, an exuberant Fisher says "Have you got a bottle of something?" It is 6:55 p.m.

MONDAY MORNING REVIEW, 10:40 A.M.

● With Fisher having left the others early in the morning for a flight to Boston, Griddes oversees the final session. Recapping what has been accomplished, he reminds the group: "The most important thing is to keep talking, to get people to the table, to buy into having a discussion." A willingness to put aside entrenched positions and to listen to other viewpoints is a common theme in the participants' closing comments.

ADAMS: I became much more aware that everyone in this room had social issues that are so important to us, a common link. And I learned that we have very different concerns. Now that I can think beyond my little world, I can say: "This is important to me. But it is not that important to them out there."

LEBLOND: We switched from being divided. I had decided before. I am not now. I feel I lack 95 per cent of the information I need to make up my mind.

MILLER: I changed from trying to convince the rest of the group to try to reach a consensus as possible to reaching an agreement that would make all of us satisfied.

DUPUIS: I observed the willingness of people to listen. That may be a start. I'm already impossible to force somebody to listen. But we found a group of ambassadors who might start to do so with their own people.

GRIDDES: Marie, Charles, when you talk to me about the past you felt in the past, I really really understood that. And I understand today you want to leave. At the same time, I hope and pray that you don't.

● Just before the session, Dupuis and Miller visited the grave site of writer and historian Stephen Leacock, who is buried in a nearby family plot on the shores of Lake Simcoe. Reading a commemorative plaque describing Leacock's writing as "essentially Canadian in character and spirit," Dupuis expressed his shock that he had never heard of a man who, to many Canadians, clearly represented so much of the nation's soul. "Is it possible that it's the same for you, that you do not know who Félix LeBlond is?" he asked Miller, referring to the late Quebec writer and poet. Miller shook his head.

"We have a problem," the two new friends agreed.

BRUCE WALLACE

'ELECTED PEOPLE' MUST DECIDE

While the *Maclean's* forum was producing its vision of a Canada in which politicians would be more responsive to their constituents, a 17-member parliamentary committee was putting the finishing touches on a report with a somewhat different slant. During these months of hearings last October and into the spring, the special committee in search of a new constitutional accord heard board witness after witness call for the public's involvement in the process of rewriting the Constitution. In all, 181 witnesses addressed the question of a constituent assembly—and 158 of those spoke in favor of the concept.

But when the committee's co-chairman, Alberta Conservative M.P. James Edwards and Tory Senator Gerald Macdonald, presented their report on June 30, they rejected that approach. Their recommendations represented a regionally based constitutional steering

committee that was part of a reform package that failed 30 years ago—and had the risk of building and implementing it to politicians. "We know there is a great many criticisms of the second system," said Edwards. "But to the first system, it is elected people who must make the decisions about constitutional change."

With those words, Edwards rejected the widely popular idea of convening a special assembly of Canadians to deal with the country's constitutional problems. Clearly, it was during these months of hearings last October and into the spring, the special committee in search of a new constitutional accord heard board witness after witness call for the public's involvement in the process of rewriting the Constitution. In all, 181 witnesses addressed the question of a constituent assembly—and 158 of those spoke in favor of the concept.

The assembly concept also found support in the 18-member Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, the government-appointed commission led by Keith Spicer. *Maclean's* has learned that the commission initially intended to recommend a constituent assembly and other mechanisms for direct public participation in the constitutional process. But all such references, commission sources said, were watered

This year's
UN survey
ranked Canada
as the
2nd best place
in the world
in which to live.

Source: UN Millennium Report 2005 published for
the United Nations. Among the 10 countries assessed,
Canada ranked 2nd in health and education systems.
Source: www.un.org/millennium

Imagine
what we could do
next year.

Canada
Something to celebrate

To Clarify A Vision

The aim: a nation where all people feel at home and fairly treated



The Maclean's forum of 12 representative Canadians, meeting with three conflict resolution specialists, produced five outlines of a vision for a new Canada during an intense, three-day retreat at an Ontario resort. They did not intend the document to be a definitive statement on the shape of a future Canada, but a realistic basis for further discussion and refinement. Just as important as the substantial suggestions is the fact that they were arrived at using a process under which people with dramatically different points of view could reach agreement fairly quickly, and without animosity, on a wide range of issues. The process that led to the writing of the draft could be extended to address other issues.

The Forum, June 9, 1991

INTRODUCTION

As individual Canadians with a wide range of interests and points of view, we have some joint suggestions:

1. Rather than trying to make binding decisions now on the precise shape of Canada's future, we work together to clarify the vision of a Canada in which all Canadians would feel fully accepted, at home and fairly treated, and with an appropriate balance between cultural, national and local autonomy.

2. There is no guarantee that Canadians can both create such a vision and correct it as reality, but we should certainly try. We will forego making any decision to abandon the goal of a Canada for all Canadians, we should look with equal care at what would be a realistic vision of a sovereign Canada, a sovereign Quebec and self-government for the First Nations.

3. A vision of Canadians working together is not simply a matter of constitutional law. We suggest that Canadians devote substantial effort to the human dimension—to understanding one another respectfully, to caring and sharing their concerns and ideas. And that they also work together to make the Canadian economy as prosperous and promising for the future as they can. On a base of human understanding and economic co-operation, constitutional questions will be far easier to resolve. We suggest that all three activities be pursued concurrently.

PART A: MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

In recent years, as a consequence of economic and political uncertainties, many Canadians have become increasingly concerned with their own immediate interests, and those of their neighbors, their immediate community and their province—and are more likely to ignore the interests of minorities, of other groups and of other provinces. There is often a lack of understanding, a lack of caring, a lack of empathy and less willingness to share.

In contrast with most of the world, Canada has a record of which all Canadians can be proud. Yet many serious problems exist. Social, economic and constitutional questions have a better chance of being well handled if Canadians work more closely together, safe by each with greater understanding, empathy, tolerance, greater concern and a willingness to share.

In many areas, much is being done. We suggest that Canadians consider further steps along the following lines to provide stronger human ties on which economic and constitutional matters can be based.

1. Individual Canadians

- Travel more frequently and widely within Canada. There are places in Canada as marvelous as those elsewhere.
- Promote cultural education about Canada's first peoples.
- Encourage children to learn about all other Canadians—their culture, language, history and way of life.
- Be a role model by being open and respectful of all Canadians.
- Check social studies, history and other courses being taught in their children's schools for fairness.
- Encourage the schools to participate in student exchanges within Canada.
- When traveling, establish personal contact with others through professional, business or other connections.

2. Schoolteachers and school leaders

- Organize exchange programs within Canada.
- Invite more schools with schools in other regions.
- Compare curricula with teachers from other schools in Canada for fairness, balance, etc.
- Invite guest speakers with different points of view and from different parts of Canada.
- Explore videotape and other options for facilitating students with other parts of Canada.
- Travel with their students as class projects within Canada, including vacation travel.
- Use the sport travel to become more familiar with all of Canada.

3. Non-governmental organizations and entities

- Kinship, Law, History, etc.: promote inexpensive package trips within Canada.
- Promote awareness and use of youth hostels within Canada and the availability of college residences for summer travel.
- Business corporations: consider more business travel and meetings as opportunities to meet and work together with other Canadians on matters of common interest.

4. Provincial governments

- Co-operate in promoting travel opportunities.
- Develop a vision of education to work with those in other provinces on curricular changes to promote closer "all Canadians" understanding.

- Arrange, as a national project, for the writing of a good history of all Canadians for all Canadians.

5. Federal government

- Appoint a commission to replicate successes. Its task would be to find programs or projects in six provinces (they can, recycling, holiday homes, etc.) that are successful, and promote their replication in other areas.
- Organize joint problem-solving groups. On any particular problem, get people from different parts of Canada to work together on it.
- Reduce suspicion by having an agency regularly produce popular and easily understood information, explaining, for example, where all federal tax revenues came from and in what they were spent.

6. Media

- Persuade a magazine to establish a "reputing success" feature each week which looks for successes in one community that might be replicated in others.
- Encourage bilingual publication of magazine and other articles.

PART B: THE ECONOMY

GENERAL RECOMMENDATION

A co-ordinated, cohesive national industrial policy. Goals:

- Improve industry.
- Increase competitiveness in global markets.
- Create jobs.
- Assist the disadvantaged.
- Improve co-operation among all Canadians.

The policy will be modeled to some extent after the one in Japan, and may include a study of international trade and industry.

The likely results of the plan are:

- An expanded economic pie for all Canadians to share.
- Reduced provincial fighting over a shrinking pie.
- Reduced business risk and uncertainty about the future.
- More economic opportunities, especially for minorities, francophones and indigenous populations.
- Reduction of tension and worry.
- Increased work ethic.
- Improvement in the quality of life for all.
- Increased cohesion and co-operation in many areas.
- Increased confidence of all citizens in Canada and its ability to meet the needs of all.

Major elements of the plan would include:

- Identifying Canada's strategic economic strengths internationally—industries, skills, etc.
- Training and retraining the population to meet these strategic goals, including strengthening education.
- Providing investment and training incentives—taxes, loans, venture capital funds and so forth.
- Expanding research, and developing and targeting it to strategic industries.
- Encouraging economic cooperation among regions, provinces, companies and industries through structural reform, such as joint boards.
- Promoting a disciplined fiscal policy.
- Making marketing and distribution more efficient.
- Informing and consulting with the industry regularly.
- Ensuring that all peoples in Canada receive an equitable share of development in which they participate through ownership of natural or other resources, contribution of their labor or ideas or skills, or other effort.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1. Devise a National Plan

Initiated by:

- The office of the prime minister.
- Co-ordinated by a national committee with representatives from each province and:
- Federal ministers of industry, trade and technology.
- The Canadian Manufacturers' Association.
- Canadian Federation of Independent Business.
- Presidents of some major companies/employers.
- National Research Council Canada.
- Consultants with international perspective and knowledge of models elsewhere.

Representation:

- The above organization would choose expert staffs and panels with membership from all provinces.

Consultation:

- All significant groups in Canada to be formally consulted.
- Attempts to be held.

Timeline:

- First draft report due six months after convening.

Work:

- To identify Canadian competitive strengths and propose methods, including programs outlined in this draft, to take advantage of them.
- Possibly to exist on a permanent basis to co-ordinate new ideas and spot trends.
- Study models elsewhere, including in Japan and Germany, that could be used in Canada.

2. Identify Strategic Strengths

Co-ordinated by:

- Major Canadian business schools.
- International marketing experts.
- A full-time director hired by the national committee.

Work:

- Identify these industries, skills and activities in which Canada has or could readily develop an international competitive advantage.
- Suggest the resources and skills needed to turn that advantage into reality.
- Use respective personal skills so that promoters can assist one another to strengthen their individual and collective ability to develop international markets. This can be done through production, pricing, supply and marketing decisions and strategies.

3. Train and Retrain; Provide Job Development

Co-ordinated by:

- Industry associations in targeted industries.
- Universities, trade schools, institutes of technology.
- Government departments of education—federal and provincial.

Work:

- Provide opportunities for students in early as high school to learn skills in strategic industries.
- Provide new university and college courses as necessary.
- Provide on-the-job training in key industries.
- Institute special management and training courses in schools. Canadian Federation of Independent Business to take the lead, along with ministries of education in each province. Identify existing programs and co-ordinate.

- Offer specific successes in programs and businesses.
- Upgrade provincial education and training to the skills needed.
- Establish day care centres to communities and companies to enable more women to work.
- Provide for job sharing as appropriate.
- Provide alcohol, drug and other rehabilitation programs to improve the quality of work life.

4. Provide Financial and Business Incentives

Co-ordinated by:

- Government and provincial finance ministries.
- Chartered banks, trust companies and other financial institutions.
- Individual companies and estates.
- Legislative committees in finance.
- Federal Business Development Bank.

Work:

- Provide tax credits/deductions to individual and companies for tuition for training in strategic industries.
- Make guaranteed loans, where appropriate.
- Post laws enabling pension funds and insurance companies to provide loans, start-up capital, bridge capital and other financing to new ventures.
- Co-ordinate venture-capital companies.
- Establish a special program of financial incentives for disadvantaged persons, minorities, First Nations and others.
- Establish special program of financial incentives for research and development in strategic industries.

5. Expand and Target Strategic Research and Development

Co-ordinated by:

- National Research Council Canada.
- Provincial councils.
- National laboratories.
- Appropriate legislative committees.

Work:

- Co-ordinate work in producing innovation in strategic industries.
- Serve as central clearinghouse for information on new research and development.
- Curtail duplication and inefficiency in research.

6. Improve Provincial and Local Economic Co-operation, Synergy

Co-ordinated by:

- Individual provincial agencies and staff.
- Federal and provincial regulatory agencies.
- Industries involved.
- Local community and business leaders.

Work:

- Manage key resources more effectively.
- Identify common interests in particular fields and divide the resource development, production, distribution and marketing to take maximum advantage of provincial strengths.
- Eliminate duplication.
- Reduce trade barriers among provinces and coordinate trade and marketing policies with foreign sources and markets.
- Use successful models where appropriate.
- Create the infrastructure that would benefit most from such co-operation, including transport.
- Decentralize federal regulations in fisheries, agriculture and other industries included in this area, to promote greater efficiency and co-operation.

- Develop regional economic boards to co-ordinate economic interests and development in all regions of Canada.
- Develop synergistic economic strategies and projects among Quebec and other provinces, and among aboriginal peoples and government, industry and others at all levels.
- Promote the involvement of local business and civic leaders in carrying out national industrial growth while meeting local needs. This should include designing, planning, financing and achieving the development of local industries. Local leaders and any associations they may create would assist in finding jobs for the unemployed, generate small-business opportunities and, because of that, improve the quality of life for people from diverse cultural, economic and physical backgrounds. The local development is intended to have a positive effect on the social aspects of communities through economic improvements.

7. Mandate Responsible Budgets, Federal and Provincial

Co-ordinated by:

- Federal and provincial ministries of finance.
- Legislative finance committees.

Work:

- Develop further studies to determine the best way to budget responsibly and manage overall debt, using models from elsewhere.
- Increase budget responsibility partly through greater efficiency in government operations.
- Conduct audits by outside, independent entities to eliminate and reduce poor business practices and waste. Widely publicize the results.

Redonate:

- World reduce inflation.
- World eventually free money for social programs—money that would otherwise go to pay interest on government debt.

8. Inform Canadians of All Progress; Involve Citizens

Co-ordinated by:

- Public relations staff of national committee.
- Individual industries.
- Provinces, federal government.

Work:

- News conferences, media interviews, reports and other means on a regular and ongoing basis.
- Institute mechanisms to receive regular feedback from Canadian citizens and businesses.
- Appoint public members to regional economic boards and other bodies.
- Widely publish regular evaluations of the strategic programs.

PART C: THE CONSTITUTION

The Problem

The current system does not afford some peoples, regions, provinces and communities within Canada the tools needed to adequately promote their economic, political and social interests. There is inadequate avenue for some people to participate in decisions that affect them. Moreover, Canada should be able to do more to care for, and improve the lives of, its people.

1. Representative Reform

A possible cause

One cause of this problem is that the current system tends to distance elected officials from their constituents' views, needs and



Those far away vodkas
with strange sounding names.



That Rocky Mountain water
and Canadian Prairie Rye Grain.

Pure Alberta Vodka. Proud Canadian Vodka.

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

concerns. The government, as currently structured, is not sufficiently representative.

A possible strategy:

One approach to dealing with this problem is to reform the system to make it more representative, to allow for greater and lower participation and representation of all the Canadian people.

Some specific reforms might include:

- A. In the House of Commons and Senate of Canada, there shall be:
 - Free riding—members would not be required by law practice or precedent to vote along party lines (in an effort to encourage members to cast a vote based on the needs of their constituents)
 - Guaranteed representation for the First Nations of Canada.
 - Fixed terms for members, which would eliminate the concept of the government resigning if its programs are defeated.
 - Shorter terms for members of the House of Commons than for senators (in an effort to encourage members with shorter terms to be more responsive to their constituency)
- B. The Senate of Canada shall be amended so that:
 - Members are to be directly elected
 - The number of members is to be determined by further discussion.
 - Members should be appointed on a political or geographic basis, or some combination of the two, according to an arrangement to be determined in further discussions
 - A specific number of seats will be reserved for representatives of the First Nations
 - The role of the Senate shall be limited to approving, amending or rejecting legislation
- C. The Bank of Canada shall be reformed so that each region shall be better represented on its board. The board's chairman would be appointed by the prime minister.
- D. Representatives from the national political bodies of the First Nations shall be included in federal forums discussing issues or dealing with policy affecting the First Nations (e.g. constitutional reform)
- E. Electoral reform:
 - Regular elections at fixed dates
 - Staggered elections (e.g. a portion of senators and members of the House of Commons elected every two years), in an effort to provide shorter terms turnover to at least a significant portion of the Parliament and hence greater responsiveness to constituents
 - The amount of campaign contributions from individuals, corporations and interest groups shall be further limited.
 - National political parties' spending shall be further limited

- Recommendations should be explored by a member of the judiciary on the possibility and desirability of moving to a system of proportional representation.

2. Setting National Standards for Social Programs to Meet Basic Needs and Entitlements

A possible cause:

Another possible cause of the current situation is that there is disagreement about the appointment of control over social programs among the federal government, the provinces, First Nations and the territories. It is difficult to balance the interests in having national standards and local flexibility.

A possible approach:

One way of approaching this problem is to allow Canadians to have more of a say in how these standards are set in the first place.

Some reforms might include:

- A. A more representative government, as described in Section 1, to decide on national standards.
- B. Wider consultation with people across Canada, especially those affected by a standard, including:
 - The commission system referred to that the result of the commission's inquiry shall be turned into draft legislation to be put before the legislative bodies for debate and vote.
 - Public hearings.
 - Dissemination of information regarding standards via popular media.
- C. There should be more uniform national standards for access to social programs (e.g. education, health care), and more flexible standards for the content of these programs (e.g. what is taught, how health care is provided)
- D. Standards should be set to determine basic "needs" of Canadians

3. Process for Developing a Recommendation for a New Constitutional Amending Formula

A possible cause:

Another possible cause of the current situation is that Canadians are dissatisfied with the process for amending the Constitution, but have not been able to proceed through official channels towards changing the system. In particular, it would be difficult to produce a new formula through official channels when certain groups feel unrepresented or underrepresented in the existing process.

A possible approach:

The federal government, provincial governments, First Nations and the territories should develop a joint recommendation for a new amending formula.

CAMERAS • VIDEOS • COPIERS • FACSIMILE • CALCULATORS • OPTICS
ELECTRONIC TYPEWRITERS • SYSTEMS/PRINTERS • MICROGRAPHICS

TECHNOLOGY IS PEOPLE

PEOPLE LIKE YOU. THAT'S WHY WE AT
CANON HAVE DESIGNED OUR TECHNOLOGY
IN HOPE IT WILL ENRICH THE QUALITY OF
LIFE YOU HAVE ENTRUSTED US WITH THESE
VALUABLE RESOURCES AND WE WILL DO
OUR BEST TO REPAY THAT TRUST. WE WILL
DEVELOP OUR HARDWARE AND SOFTWARE
TO BE USED WITH MAXIMUM ECONOMY
AND EFFICIENCY—FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

Canon

THINKING BEYOND TODAY

*Li George - Deborah Gyl Allge - Kathleen Collings
Sue Jones - John Howell - Karen Adams
Roger Hill - Robert O'Brien - Colin Finer
Linda L. Ben - Linda Rippen - Chela Davis*

The Business Of Getting To Yes

'Many Canadians have stopped dealing with real problems. They must learn to care about each other again.'



As a member of a B-28 bomber crew in the U.S. army air force during the Second World War, Roger Fisher was taking off from a base in Guam when one of the aircraft's engines suddenly caught fire. The airplane, which had risen about 20 feet off the ground, crashed back to earth and began sliding off the end of the runway. As the crew scrambled to leave the plane, fearing that the now-flaming aircraft would explode, the only passenger, a young nurse flying for the first time, looked at their captain, befuddled Fisher. "He stayed calm and collected—because he did not know any more air crew members and said, 'What do you guys usually do now?'"

That story, which Fisher often tells with evident relish, illustrates one of the dilemmas involved in the business of what the Harvard law professor, founder of the Cambridge, Mass.-based consulting firm Conflict Management Group, calls "getting to yes." Said Fisher, who headed the three-man CMG team that Marlowe envisioned to direct the discussions of its 13-member constitutional forum. "We negotiators are the people expected to have the answers—even when it is not clear if any exist." For Fisher and his colleagues at CMG achieving that goal as negotiators involves a careful blend of timing, inspiring, directing listening—and often, some spontaneous improvising at the bargaining table. Said Fisher's associate, coo executive director Stuart Diamond: "We make the difficult sales process that among them they have the answers. We provide the process leading to their conclusion."

That philosophy—and CMG's success in applying it—has made the group arguably the most respected and sought-after practitioner as a last-gasp international fixer. The 59-year-old Fisher has worked as an adviser or consultant for governments in 14 dozen countries, including the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Colombia, El Salvador and South Africa. He helped the U.S. government devise the procedure that led to the landmark Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt in 1978.

In fact, Fisher is credited with inventing many of the techniques now regularly used by conflict resolution specialists—including a formula called "principled negotiation," which CMG describes as the cornerstone of its philosophy. That approach contrasts with many elements of traditional negotiating, including the conviction that disputing parties should begin talks with specific, declared objectives, as well as basic unacknowledged fact positions that they are prepared to fall back on.

The methods pioneered at Harvard University in Cambridge also have spawned an entire new industry that is swiftly taking root around the world. In Canada, where the field is still relatively new, more than 250 people attended an Ottawa conference last year studying conflict resolution strategies. Among the proponents of the process is Benjamin Hoffman, 40, a former student of Fisher's at Harvard, who founded

Ottawa-based Concordia Inc. in 1980. Since then, he says, his business has doubled in volume each year. His clients have included major groups, two universities and both management and labor groups. Said Hoffman: "We are looking at a process whose time has clearly come."

In fact, he and other experts foresee a variety of new uses for their field. With tensions coiled among dramatically across North America, insurance companies are turning to conflict resolution to help settle claims. And with environmental concerns on the rise, large companies and government authorities are beginning to use independent mediators in environmental assessment talks to reach agreement on project development.

As well, the increase in the number of native Canadian groups seeking land claims has created a need for specialists familiar with the complicated issues being negotiated.

But while interest in conflict management strategy grows, Fisher continues to be regarded as pre-eminent in the field. Declared Hoffman: "Roger is a first, and best." That view is clearly shared by experts in a variety of fields. Along with CMG, Fisher works with a number of related Harvard-based groups offering negotiation advice and consultation in areas ranging from diplomatic training to foreign investment, labor-management relations and corporate planning. In one of CMG's most remarkable projects last year, a trained 40 diplomats from then-Warfare Pact countries and members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as negotiation techniques that would help them adjust to the changing relations between them. In another venture, it worked with officials and groups in Israel, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon, as well as with Palestinian diplomats, in ways to resolve their differences.

Still, Fisher said that in such situations, the basic task belongs to a negotiator seeking change. He cites seven elements aimed at producing agreement between potential negotiators: interest, options, legitimacy, commitment, communication, relationship and alternatives away from the table. Those are the building blocks for producing agreement. During the Beirut session, they were used in the following ways:

● Focus on interests, not positions. The different sides are asked to bring specific demands to a bargaining table. Rather, they are asked to list their underlying needs and interests in the hope that those will lead to

THE DIAGNOSIS: SOME PROBABILITIES

MINORS IN TREATING AN
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PROBABILITIES
HOLDING ON TO OLD
METHODS OF NEGOTIATION
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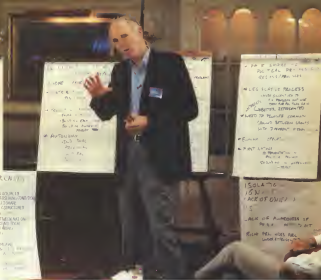
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Fisher leading a Saturday session: more willingness among private citizens to be flexible than among politicians

common ground. At the Marlowe forum, CMG negotiators asked the 12 participants to avoid getting mired in such traditional types of debate as Quebec's language laws, the Quebec-Labour constitutional accord and what political parties they feel most comfortable with. Said Diamond at the outset: "We must avoid labels whenever possible."

● **Attempt joint problem-solving.** The participants are asked to work together to develop additional options beyond any proposals they have already brought to the table. That encourages them to work together and think creatively. At the June 7-10 session in Lake Simcoe, the negotiators asked federalists and Quebec sovereigntists to accept each other as people with legitimate interests who would like to be heard.

● **Use objective criteria and standards.** Often, one or both sides rely on their overall strength or emotions to set conditions for agreement.

● **Develop new options.** Throughout the Marlowe weekend, negotiators repeatedly told participants that they should try to think of options beyond those that had already been publicly suggested by politicians for Canada's future.

all ties with each other. Without asking anyone to abandon that possibility, they agreed to look first at an agreement that would keep Canada together—one that would be better for everyone than not reaching agreement.

● **Separate the people from the problem.** Every negotiation involves two issues: people and problem. A civil approach to the other side is far more likely to produce agreement than an aggressive, insulting manner. In fact, the CMG negotiators said that the close relationships and bonding developed among participants in the Marlowe forum were among the most significant achievements.

● **Diagnose problems and individual goals.** Sometimes, two sides agree on solutions that do not deal with deeper overall problems. Each side should look for hidden problems for their true cause, a person that helps find hidden solutions. The Marlowe participants were encouraged to look at why they and their colleagues felt personally aggrieved with the present state of Canada—and at how to change it.

● **Try to understand one another's needs.** Often, parties make demands that are impossible for the other side to meet. Each side should put itself in the shoes of the other side to consider each other's pressure and give chances that make it easier to agree. In their key notes—civic rights, and anglophone and francophone perceptions of each other—the Marlowe participants said that their discussions had for the first time

give them insight into the concerns and fears of other groups. That insight, some of them said later, made it easier for them to try to satisfy the different demands.

At the same time, OAG's Robert Macpherson introduced a relatively simple chart of a circle divided into four quadrants. Using that chart, a regular tool in the group's work, he asked participants to divide problems—starting into four stages of thought: symptoms of the problems, diagnosis, general prescriptions and specific action ideas.

In the first stage, the Macpherson forum participants were asked to define the gap between the current situation in Canada and their preferred view of the country. The group cited problems including the country's overblown economy, inter-regional tensions and a chronic lack of faith in the current political process.

In the second step, the group began weighing how those problems had come into existence. They mentioned factors including elected politicians' determination to vote on party lines rather than reflect the wishes of constituents; a widespread sense that the present electoral process does not properly represent the needs of different regions; and the subsequent lack of any coherent process to guide the economy.

In the third stage, the group began offering solutions. They divided into three groups of four dealing with the Constitution, the economy and the general lack of understanding among Canadians. Then, each group presented its findings and recommendations to all the participants, who discussed them further.

In the final step, the group moved towards a specific plan of action and followed the one-step procedure used at Camp David. The facilitators started with a rough draft and showed it to the participants, continually refining the text to reflect suggestions and reactions. At that point, no one made a commitment either for or against any specific wording.

After three drafts, the group reached agreement. The final's joint statement included suggestions on how to improve the economy and increase goodwill among regions, as well as how to make politicians more accountable to the electorate. If those steps did not achieve the document's enshrined "constitutional questions will be for consideration."

In addition to the seven techniques, OAG negotiators follow certain guidelines defining the way that they should conduct themselves as coalitions. Declared Faber: "There is often a perception that a negotiator must act very tough or very soft all the time, and be consistent to that. We reject that notion." Instead, the OAG philosophy, according to Faber, is, "Be soft on the people, but hard on the problem."

In fact, Faber, Diamond and Macpherson said that they worked hard to apply all their usual methods to the Macpherson exercise. But, the OAG negotiators added, the experience of dealing with representative Canadians as such an environment sometimes contrasted sharply with their past work. Usually, the group deals with elected politicians, professional diplomats or other trained negotiators. But in the case of the Macpherson's workshop, Faber said, he found the participants to be refreshing in their approach. Declared Faber: "There is a just more willingness, more openness to be flexible than among politicians who continue to

worry about their past positions and what the media might say."

But the encounter at the Rivers posed a different problem. Many of OAG's tactics rely on conducting negotiations in a private, informal manner, so that participants feel less pressure to perform or defend previously articulated positions. Said Diamond: "Our sessions are usually highly confidential, severely restricted." But during the Macpherson's forum, 13 editors and reporters and one photographer from the magazine watched developments all through the weekend, as did a 20-member television crew that was preparing a one-hour special to be aired on CTV on June 30. Said Faber of the Macpherson's exercise: "I have never taken what were normally representative citizens and put them in a room with television cameras and microphones." That process, he added, was sometimes "distraught." At one stage, Faber said, the participants' awareness of the cameras surrounding them caused them to "fall back into hardened positions, according like broken records." He added: "It really exacerbated the initial problems."



Forum members meeting in groups on Sunday, trying to understand one another's needs

Despite such differences, Faber said that the process of the sessions was consistent with the original OAG plan. And, said Diamond, the way in which Macpherson's 12 diverse and often divided participants moved to agreement on issues provides a model that could easily be used across Canada. Declared Diamond: "If this group can come up with the ideas it [managed] after two days, without millions of dollars, tremendous political clout or huge staffs, then the people who run this country ought to be able to come up with an even better list as a reasonable time."

At the same time, the OAG members developed their own impressions of Canada's constitutional debate. Declared Faber: "Many Canadians have stopped dealing with real problems. They must learn to care about each other again—as these people learned to do." Said Diamond: "One reason Canadians have not said 'yes' to anything is that there are not enough ideas on the constitutional table." He added: "Just because Canada has been talking about things for more than 100 years does not mean it is talking about the right things." For both men, the key to successful negotiation—and resolving Canada's future—responsible to a new kind of talk and a renewed willingness to listen.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

WORKING LATE



"Well, that's done. Feel like stopping off for a drink when we leave?"

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The Voices Of A Nation

How Decima assembled the tribes of thought



In the discordant chorus of ideas across Canada, their 12 voices expressed themselves with deliberately unseam harmony. From committed federalists through moderates and compromise seekers to Quebec separatists, the dozen Canadians brought together by Maclean's to see if—stripped of their cultural biases and ideologies—they could develop a consensus view of one Canada were initially united only by the depth of their different convictions. The participants in the Maclean's project were chosen by means of an extensive opinion of "cluster analysis" developed by Decima Research, Maclean's regular polling firm, headed by Allan Gregg. Its son, and Decima vice-president, Catherine Murray, "was in as much deeper than regular polls in national unity, and to understand the reasons behind polling figures and trends."

Maclean's asked Gregg and Murray to identify scientifically the clusters of thinking in the country that, taken together, constitute a portrait of the mass patterns of thought that dominate the nation. Then, by carefully selecting individuals whose views matched the characteristics of each cluster, Murray and her team would create a panel that represented the collective thought patterns of the nation. Self. Murray "We also wanted to get beyond the conventional stereotypes from interest groups and politicians to have Canadians speak for themselves."

The project came after the collapse a year ago of the Meech Lake constitutional accord, when Maclean's began searching for a new, all-Canada way to examine the views of representative Canadians. To form a group that would reflect that broad range of opinions, Decima began by looking at its recent political surveys, including the seventh annual Maclean's/Decima poll, published in January. It and another survey, which also involved 1,500 Canadians and was released at about the same time, focused on identifying the values, attitudes and beliefs that predominate on the national political scene. Then, Decima checked those responses against results from its monthly polling on national issues over the past year.

After a lengthy analysis of those results, Murray and Decima-based Decima consultant Jeffrey Lewis were able to identify what they described as the six most widespread schools of political thought in Canada—three in Quebec, and three in the rest of the country. Murray said that the current gulf in political thinking between Quebec and the rest of the country is so deep that Decima finally decided to treat Canada,

for the purpose of the selection, as "two countries."

With that, Decima staff made more than 400 additional calls across the country to find people whose opinions most clearly reflected the six clusters. Decima and Maclean's then selected a shortlist of 35 possible participants from coast to coast, and Maclean's editors and reporters in-site reviewed those individuals to find who were the most articulate in expressing their views. The final choice of 12 was also influenced by the need to balance the various regions of Canada, differing ages, both sexes and the relative prominence of the specific points of view.

There was one exception to that selection process. Maclean's editors and Decima agreed that the forum should have a native Canadian participant, but standard telephone polling methods do not produce a representative sample. As a result, Maclean's mounted its own search for an articulate spokesman for native issues, one with no current affiliation with specific native political organizations. The choice: Valois Indian filmmaker and writer Carol Gellies.

Of the other 11 participants, many occasionally expressed views that set them apart from the clusters that Decima placed them in. And, said Murray, some of the participants may even object to the descriptions that Decima attached to them. Still, she declared with pleasure at the end of the weekend, "they were consistent and articulate representatives of the respective patterns of thought that they were chosen to



Murray: testimony to divisions that tear the country



"The difficulties Canadians now face are the same difficulties we have faced and overcome many times in the past. If we have the strength of will and the dedication to nation building, then this nation will be preserved and the trust of those who have invested in this country will be amply rewarded."

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represent." The positions they took in the discussion confirmed the validity of the process, she added.

Outside Quebec, there are three main clusters of thought, which Marianne and Decima chose to label as Firm Federalists (33 per cent of the adult population), Peacemakers (37 per cent) and Fed-up Federalists (40 per cent). Within Quebec, there are also three main clusters: Quebec Federalists (44 per cent), Hard Separatists (33 per cent) and Moderates (24 per cent).

The main characteristics of each group

Firm Federalists: People in this category are very proud to call themselves Canadian. They say that there is a shared Canadian identity and that Canada can play a significant role in shaping world events. As well, they are not as concerned about Quebec's future as the other two groups. They have not decided if Quebec will separate, and they say that they are uncertain who will happen if it does. They also have not made up their minds about whether all provinces should have equal representation in Ottawa, but generally they say that they favor a slightly stronger federal government. The participants who fit that overall description were Karen Adams, Colin Fries and Richard Miller.

Peacemakers: Canadians who fall under the broad umbrella of Peacemakers say that there is a very strong likelihood that Quebec will separate—and that such an event would produce high economic and social costs for the rest of the country. To avoid that, they say that they favor meeting Quebec's demands by shifting more power to all provinces. They also place a high value on consultation, support a national bilingualism policy and are generally receptive to Quebec's claims to special status. Despite their willingness to give more power to the provinces and uphold provincial values, they favor strong national standards for certain economic and social policy issues.

Peacemakers say that, if it is important to protect the less fortunate in society and, as a result, they place a high value on continued equalization payments to the provinces.

The two participants who fell into this category are Karen Collins and John Paul.

Fed-up Federalists: Like some Quebecers, these Canadians say that their province has been unfairly treated in the federal system, and they claim that they are not well represented in Parliament. But unlike their francophone Quebec counterparts, they say that they believe in a common Canadian identity. They also support a more substantial voice for smaller provinces in the federal government. And they favor a more decentralized form of federalism. People in the category may see either that national tensions are a normal condition or that they are unusually high at present.

Although those who lean towards the Fed-up Federalist position—

suffer that embracing a wholeheartedly—say that Canadian federalism is already decentralized almost as much as it should be, they also argue for more provincial control in certain areas. Still, in a referendum they would probably vote for the status quo.

The participants who fit the general description of the group were Vania Geste-Schneider and Sheila Simpson. Decima determined that Geste also belonged to that category.

Quebec Federalists: This group is generally more assertive than its counterpart in the rest of the country. Those who fall into the category reject the status of two linguistic solitudes. They identify strongly with other regions of Canada, and they say that the country is far more than the sum of its parts. Federalists in Quebec differ from Firm Federalists in a crucial area although they favor maintaining the status quo. They would likely favor greater provincial power in a referendum. Within the umbrella group, there is a subgroup whose members are alienated enough within Canada to question the existence of a common Canadian identity. And all members of the larger category say that they have been left out of the current debate and feel powerless to affect it.

The participant who represented the group is Robert Lalonde.

Hard Separatists: Members of this cluster are highly pessimistic about finding any single solution to Canada's problems. They favor a sovereign Quebec and they assume that francophones and anglophones have nothing in common. They also reject claims that Canada has a clear national identity. And they say that historical grievances and the unfair treatment of Quebec within Canada justify the province's right to be considered a distinct society.

Hard Separatists in general favor provincial control of virtually all policy fields, in some cases including currency. Most want full independence for Quebec and a common-market arrangement with the rest of Canada.

Charles Dupuis and Marc Lefebvre were the participants who represented this category.

Quebec Moderates: Moderates are prepared to accept the existence of a common Canadian identity, and reject claims that Canada is a nation of two solitudes. They agree with their Hard Separatist counterparts on some issues, but the Moderates do not insist on any special status for Quebec. Members of this group say that every province should have equal power—regardless of population—in a common-market arrangement. They generally favor continued equalization payments from the federal government to the provinces, a common currency system and the protection of national standards in some social policy fields.

Cyrl Allaire was the participant who reflected this cluster.

Taken together, the participants in the Marianne/Decima group hold views and positions that represent an accurate picture of the nation's thinking, and Marney, their weekend discussion were an eloquent testimony to the diversity that scar the country—and a beacon of hope for the future.

ANTHONY WILSON/ANITE



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The Experts' Report

The Harvard conflict resolution team sums up—and finds cause for optimism



A team of conflict resolution experts from the Harvard Negotiation Project and Conflict Management Group of Cambridge, Mass., headed by law professor Roger Fisher, posed 12 questions in discussions about the future of the country during the Maclean's Forum held at the Ritz-Carlton, north of Toronto, from June 7 to 10. Their report:

In Canada today, as in every other important conflict with which we have dealt, people are reasonably saying "no" to what they hear themselves being asked to do. The Beers participants identified four questions concerning Canadians:

1. Should we agree to independence for Quebec?
2. Should we accept a stronger federal government?
3. Should we accept a weak federal government with strong provinces?
4. Should we agree to self-government for the First Nations?

Today, a majority of Canadians appear opposed to each proposal—and for good reason. None of them has been worked out as practical detail. Each has been advanced unilaterally as a position that meets the values of some people. None was designed to meet the interests of most people. Each proposal is advanced as a big decision to be made before working out practical, operational details. But most Canadians are reluctant to head off into a vague unknown. There does not appear to be a sufficiently clear picture of each alternative future.

Canada may have problems, but it has done well—as well that for much of the world, Canada is often a model. Understandably, Canadians still see faults and want to do better. But we wonder whether the right questions have been asked. Are different languages and cultures really the problem? After all, the people of Switzerland do well with four languages. Canada's primary difficulties may be neither its cultural differences nor substantive problems, but rather its how citizens deal with these differences and problems.

Just as a bitter disagreement between husband and wife about separate bedrooms or where they should live suggests talk of divorce, disputes over language may lead to talk of separation. But similar tensions not leading to the real issue. A troubled relationship. And an agreement on a substantive issue will ease that troubled relationship.

We have, for some years studied how people successfully deal with their differences—what works and what doesn't. We are not experts in

substantive areas, such as the Canadian Constitution. We focus on the process of conflict management. We don't provide substantive answers. We help people ask better questions, and then try to provide an effective method to answer them. Unfortunately, many people have no interest in process. They say, "I don't care what road I take as long as I end up where I want to be." But where they end up usually depends on what road they take. The many years of unsuccessful discussion in Canada suggest that the past process is not an effective means for dealing with the nation's problems.

The 12 participants at the Beers found a different road. They found that exploring underlying interests was more effective than arguing over respective positions. They jointly developed a array of options that might serve the interests of all Canadians. Then, they suggested specific, constructive steps to bring it about. This is the sort of process that we recommend for Canada.

The specific action plan suggested by the participants at the Beers is not really the lesson of the weekend. We—and they—were sure better ideas were out there. The real lesson is that a diverse people, selected for their differences and representation of various major Canadian viewpoints, could work so well together. Over a weekend, using a systematic process of analysis and discussion, they could deal effectively with their differences and agree on a large number of suggested actions. And if a dozen citizens without major resources could do that, we suspect that Canada's leaders, with the help of their constituents and millions of dollars in resources, could do, too.

But citizens need not wait for their leaders. Individual citizens of Canada, individually as well as collectively, can probably make a far greater difference than they assume. At least two million readers of this magazine are being exposed to these ideas and suggestions. Citizens can plan, in detail, possible futures before choosing one, or abandoning any idea. How exactly would a united Canada court the interests of Quebec? How exactly might a separate Quebec handle the interests of native Canadians, minority and trade? Consider the problems, not each other. Be creative. Work with others, using the collective talents, experience and points of view. Talk and listen. Think and rethink. Make decisions instead of the end of the process. No pressure will lose. The best ideas will win.

ROGER FISHER, STUART DIAMOND and ROBERT KOGUTSKO



Diamond (standing), Kogutsko and Fisher: process



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Modern portrayal of the Confederation meeting at Quebec City in 1866: a minimal agreement on the division of powers

The Roots Of Conflict

The ghosts of ambiguity and omission haunt Canadian unity



In the beginning, ambiguity was a refuge and a virtue. There were the 36 Fathers of Confederation, largely lawyers and businessmen, struggling to craft a constitution out of the conflicting demands of four provinces and two cultures. Throughout the dense sessions of 1864, through hours of whispered-hatred debates, they carefully narrowed the focus of their talks from the visionary to the pragmatic. In the end, they left much out: they made no reference to two founding nations or equal provinces; they made no explicit declaration on the strength of the central government; they did not incorporate an amending formula. Instead, they hammered out a minimal agreement on the division of powers and obligations—and in the composition of institutions. That agreement became the British North America (BNA) Act of 1867. Passed by the British Parliament, it outlined the bare structure of a new union. The Fathers' ambiguous legacy was at once glorious and unenviable. They created Canada—and 124 years of constitutional struggle.

The ambiguities and omissions haunt the history of Canada's efforts to change its Constitution. Without an amending formula, changes to British legislation required the consent of the British Parliament. Without a clear constitutional vision, competing visions continued to arise and two uneasinesses—and perhaps inseparable—questions. Did Canada evolve from two founding nations or two equal provinces? For the first 60 years of Canada's existence, there were no formal constitutional tools—but a constant battle for power between the provinces and Ottawa postponed the debates.

From 1827 until 1868, there were 18 unsuccessful attempts to bring the Constitution home from Westminster with an amending formula. The first efforts at constitutional reform also dealt with Ottawa's demands for more power. By 1860, the focus had shifted. As the Quiet Revolution reinvigorated Quebec society, the Quebec government sought more economic and cultural powers, as well as the ability to pay for the exercise of those powers. Other provinces joined the chorus of demands for

greater power. In a dramatic climax, Quebec won the sole province to withhold consent when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau requested an agreement that brought the Constitution home in 1982 with an amending formula and a charter of rights, but without significant additional powers for Quebec.

Nine years later, the same themes that haunted the Fathers are still dividing their heirs. The 1990 failure of the Meech Lake accord, a constitutional package designed to win Quebec's consent to the new Constitution, vividly underscored the unresolved constitutional issues that divide Canada's history. Canada, in fact, are arguing about the same issues that the Fathers sidestepped with debt and loyalty. The legacy is familiar. Should Quebec be considered a "distinct society" or one of 10 equal provinces? Do Canadians receive better representation through a strong central government or through stronger provincial governments? Should Canada find a better amending formula?

Adding to the controversy is the fact that the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms gave new recognition to long-overlooked voices: Canada's aboriginals, women, multicultural groups. These voices have added new conflicts competing claims to the constitutional landscape. In response, the politicians and academics of 1991—like the representative members of the Meech Lake forum at the time—have no single constitutional prescriptions. Observed University of Toronto political scientist Richard Simeon:

"Not only do we have to deal with the unresolved issues that we inherited from the past, but we also must resolve a host of new issues which generate new constitutional agendas. This increasingly complicates the current debate—and the range of possible answers."

The roots of the current debate lie in the conflicting aims of Canada's original constitutional negotiations. Applauded by the ravages of the Civil War in the American Federation, Sir John A. Macdonald, who became Canada's first prime minister, concluded that federations in themselves were divisive operations. The solution that he sought was a strong central government. His chief congressional ally, Sir George-Étienne Cartier, wanted to honor Canada's "diversity of races" and to preserve Quebec's language and Roman Catholic schools. The BNA Act was their ambiguous compromise.

Ottawa took control of such critical areas as trade and commerce. In addition, the federal government could cancel provincial legislation or declare a provincial undertaking to be under federal jurisdiction because it was "for the general advantage." But there was a catch: Ottawa's blanket control over "peace, order and good government" could be countered by the provinces' almost equally open-ended control over property and civil rights. Still, Macdonald was satisfied: "We thereby strengthen the central Parliament and make Confederation one people and one government." Cartier, too, was pleased. "Under the new arrangement, the central government will have no real government and almost no regular legislative power as formerly."

Throughout the next 124 years, the promises and Ottawa widely coded their ambiguous Constitution, scuffling for power and money on various stages. They sought constitutional interpretations in the courts.

They fought for their share of the dollars. When Ottawa spent money on provincial affairs, the provinces had to cough up Ottawa from administration of such programs—while keeping the money.

They lived off a formal constitutional laws. Less than 20 years after Confederation, the provinces found an unlikely champion. To Macdonald's chagrin, Canada's first court of appeal, the British Privy Council, began to limit federal power. In 1883, the court ruled that "the local legislature is supreme and has the same authority as the Imperial Parliament or the Parliament of the Dominion would have under like circumstances." In that often raucous climate, Quebec Premier Honoré Mercier, with the support of Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat, hosted five of the first seven premiers at an interprovincial conference in 1887. Their demands bore a familiar ring: abolition of Ottawa's right to dissolve provincial legislatures; abolition of Ottawa's right to declare that provincial undertakings were in the national interest; the right to allocate half of the Senate's members across federal subunits. Macdonald ignored them.

Nearly 40 years later, Great Britain encouraged Canada's first federal-provincial attempts at major constitutional reform. In 1926, the Balfour Declaration recognized that the dominions were independent countries. In response, in 1927 Canadian federal-provincial conference launched the search for an amending formula. The premises were sharply defined. According to the official conference summary, some opponents went so far as to contend "that if Canada had the right of herself to amend her Constitution, all sorts of demands for changes would be made." Four years later, when the British Parliament was asked to adopt the principles of the Balfour Declaration in the Statute of Westminster, the premiers and the Prime Minister tried again.

They failed. Canada called Britain to change the statute so that Britain retained the power to amend the Canadian Constitution. Throughout the next three decades, the constitutional amendment issue was almost forgotten. The times were disastrous: the Depression; the Second World War; the postwar boom. In that chaos, Ottawa and the provinces were the stuff of legend, but it was largely woven in the judicial and fiscal looms. Throughout the 1930s, as the Depression raged, Ottawa "discovered" Alberta's bid to set monetary policy, the British Privy Council, in turn, ruled that Ottawa's proposed labor standards, as written in the American New Deal, were an intrusion on provincial powers. In response, Ottawa consolidated its fiscal strength, taking control over personal and corporate taxes, then transferring a portion of that revenue to the provinces.

In the postwar boom, throughout the late 1940s and the 1950s, Ottawa was a leader in the development of the welfare state, partly through direct programs such as unemployment insurance and partly through the device of shared-cost programs such as health insurance. Many provinces, including Ontario, tried to take advantage of federal spending power. In the end, Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis refused the sole disclaimer: he refused to participate in several shared-cost programs, seeing these postsecondary funding. But because



Simeon: a complicated agenda involving both old and new issues

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

THE PEOPLE'S VERDICT

Diplomats did not set up governments in competition with those of Ottawa, but appointed ad hoc courts significant national emergencies.

In 1935, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the premiers that he would endorse proposals to amend the Constitution to extend Ottawa's authority to regulate wages and working conditions. The province largely ignored that offer. Instead, the federal government set eight of the nine existing provinces colluded together in amending formula. When New Brunswick withdrew its consent, the proposal was quietly shelved. In 1950, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and the premiers tried again to find an amending formula. They, too, failed.

That set the stage for the modern constitutional war. In June, 1960, the Liberals won the Quebec election—and the Quiet Revolution. Quebec's delayed entry onto the national scene, was born. Ardently nationalist, the new government wanted to end the Quebec government's traditional francophone rights and interests. It shook off centuries of domination by the Roman Catholic Church and it concluded that the existing division of powers and financial arrangements did not allow Quebecers to become "masters in our own house."



Mackenzie and premiers during 1987 talks leading to the Meech Lake accord: citing Quebec as a distinct society

In 1964, at a stormy federal-provincial meeting, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson asked Quebec's withdrawal from several federal-provincial cost-sharing programs, such as hospital insurance, but to provide critical financial compensation. As a result, Quebec "opted out" of Ottawa gave 44 per cent of the personal income tax collected within the province to Quebec, while the other provinces received only 20 per cent. Lease also won the right to establish a Quebec pension plan.

Meanwhile, constitutional reform remained stalled. In 1966, Ottawa and the provinces drafted the so-called Fulton amendment formula, which included provisions for each level of government to delegate power to the other. The existing draft bill did not receive unanimous approval, largely because the Quebec government feared that its fellow provinces would delegate power whenever Ottawa suggested new social programs. If Quebec wanted to use its own spending programs, there was no guarantee that it would receive federal funds. As a result, Quebec feared the new amending formula would bring two implausible choices: cede power to Ottawa or remain isolated, unable to pay for social benefits for

its citizens that would become available elsewhere—funded by Ottawa. In 1966, Ottawa and the provinces considered the Fulton/Fulton amending formula. Two years later, Quebec again withheld its consent, arguing that the formula was inflexible and that it could limit the province's struggle for more power. Observed the University of Toronto's Seneca: "Quebec did not really begin to make constitutional demands until the election of Premier Daniel Johnson in 1966. In part, Johnson's demands were a response to [then-federal Justice Minister] Trudeau's view on the transfer of tax powers. Trudeau said that Quebec's emerging special status was a slippery slope to separatism and that there should be no more special treatment for any province. That standstill to catapult Quebec's demands away from fiscal and policy issues onto a constitutional level."

There were four more unsuccessful attempts to bring home the Constitution between 1967 and 1980. As each attempt failed, and as Ottawa and the provinces waged increasingly bitter struggles over social fiscal resources, more provinces, such as Alberta and Newfoundland, supported Quebec's demand for more powers. The pattern was set:

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a 19-point margin. Anxious to launch a campaign for renewed federalism, Trudeau called another federal-provincial conference. When that meeting failed to reach agreement on 12 items, including an amending formula, the Prime Minister introduced a parliamentary resolution to bring home the Constitution unilaterally with an amending formula and a charter of rights.

Two provinces—Ontario and New Brunswick—supported him; eight opposed him. On Sept. 28, 1981, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Ottawa had the legal right to patriate the Constitution unilaterally. But it added that amending constitutional conventions required Ottawa to obtain an "unqualified" "consensus" among the provinces before it proceeded. Five weeks later, after a dramatic night of constitutional bickering, Ottawa and all provinces except Quebec agreed to patriate the Constitution with a charter of rights and an amending formula. That formula required the consent of Ottawa and seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population to change the Constitution. Several key areas, such as changes to the office of the governor general, required unanimous consent. Some shattered Quebec Premier René Lévesque: "Quebec finds itself all alone."

Another decade of constitutional fighting began. Legally, the Constitution applied to Quebec. But the province refused to endorse a package that did not meet its political demands. In 1987, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 provinces signed the Meech Lake accord, which dealt with more than a century of hankering Quebec requests. It recognized Quebec as a "distinct society." It expanded the arena in the amending formula that required unanimity, giving Quebec, in effect, a veto. It guaranteed compensation to provinces that withdrew from federal spending programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction, if the provinces then launched a program that was "compatible with the national objectives." It also established a provincial role in Senate appointments.

That historic accord met Quebec's basic requirements, but it ran into opposition in other parts of Canada. The so-called charter groups argued that the accord did not deal with their constitutional demands. Many people said that they also constructed a distinct society and that the Constitution should always give the right to self-government. Other Canadians objected to the very suggestion of a distinct society, claiming that it conferred spe-



Queen Elizabeth II signing 1982 Constitution in Ottawa; new focus

cial status on Quebec where all provinces should be equal. Still others denounced the process used to reach the agreement: the 11 First Ministers had produced a document behind closed doors, which they then refused to change. The accord died in June, 1990 when two provinces—Manitoba and Newfoundland—withheld their consent.

Now all constitutional provisions, and Canada's constitutional process itself, are up for discussion. Quebec has expended its demands. The charter groups are compiling their agendas. Across Canada, academics, politicians and Canadians generally, such as those at the Marleau's forums, are seeking new solutions to old problems.

The provinces. Many Canadians now insist that politicians consult the public, locally or nationally, before they try to reach another agreement. In response, University of Toronto political scientist Peter Russell, for one, favors the formation of a constituent assembly, composed of delegates from Ottawa and the 10 provinces. Alongside peoples—if they wished—could also participate. If the constituent assembly emerged with a package, Ottawa and the provinces could use the current amending formula to adopt it. Still, Russell has stipulated that Quebec, nations and northerners should consent to amendments that affect them. Declared Russell: "We would then truly have constituted ourselves as a people."

The amending formula. The failure of the Meech Lake accord convinced many Canadians, including those in the Marleau's forum, that the current amending formula must be changed. There are at least three ways which lead to that objective: a veto for Quebec, the extension of veto power to all provinces or the adoption of entirely new procedures for major changes. The Quebec Liberal party proposed the first approach earlier this year when it called for a new formula, giving provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population including Quebec. Some academics say that Quebec's veto could be restricted to changes in national institutions.

The Meech Lake accord would have required unanimity for major constitutional, even though many academics claimed that the system would be workable. Declared Donald Swenson, the associate to the principal at Toronto's Glendon College: "Unanimity always gives the last person in the room the power of veto." That was one of the main causes of the failure of Meech Lake. "But an architect of the

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current formula, Peter Menzies, a University of Alberta vice-president, contended that the formula was flexible. He pointed out that many Meech Lake provisions did not require unanimity. Ottawa could have proclaimed them. But he added that large amendment packages may require a different formula—perhaps a constitutional referendum.

The distinct society: Quebec insists that any future constitutional arrangement must recognize that it constitutes a "distinct society." That insistence stems from the conviction that Confederation represents a treaty between two founding nations—and that Quebec has the right to preserve and promote its distinctness. In contrast, in the so-called Rest of Canada, the phrase often provokes anger. Many Canadians are convinced that equality of the provinces is a fundamental principle of Confederation.

In fact, the ambiguous 1982 Act makes no such claim. Provinces have often received different rights and different obligations. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia received more Senate seats than the western provinces, usually, bilingual rights applied only to the legislature of Quebec. Still, as University of Prince Edward Island political scientist David Milne observed, "The Canadian federation has seen a steady and growing movement towards the equality principle." Those confident it won't is probably the greatest barrier to agreement on a constitutional package.

Division of powers: The Quebec Liberal party now demands that Quebec receive exclusive authority over 22 areas of jurisdiction, including culture, manpower, language, communications and regional development. In response, suggestions have varied dramatically: centralize, decentralize, "bilateralize," special powers for Quebec. At the root of the problem is the fact that Canadians are probably unwilling to establish special status for Quebec; they are probably equally unwilling to accept massive decentralization to all provinces. Some academics, such as University of Western Ontario political scientist Robert Young, have suggested that Ottawa transfer jurisdiction over language, culture and immigration to the provinces. That might ease Quebec's concerns about the preservation of its language and culture. Other academics, including University of Toronto law professor Michael Trebilcock, have called for a "rebalancing" of Confederation in which social, language and cultural policies would be decentralized to the provinces while economic powers would be centralized.

Prior Edward Island's Milne had one of the more innovative recommendations: give concurrent jurisdiction in many fields to both Ottawa and the provinces to ensure that each province has equal powers. Provincial laws would have precedence in those fields over federal laws. Some provinces and Milne would likely choose to ignore their new powers, while others would use them to legislate according to their own needs, effectively shutting out Ottawa. But all provinces would remain theoretically equal. Canada now has only three areas of concurrent jurisdiction: agriculture, marriage and divorce.

National institutions: The Marleau's forum called for an elected Senate to ensure better representation for the regions within the federal government. That approach echoes the western provinces' call for a Triple E Senate: an effective, elected body with equal representation from each province. In contrast, the Quebec Liberal party has called for the abolition of the Senate. The Senate debate is heated because the West appears to be on a collision course with Quebec. Quebec would have only 10 per cent of the seats in a Triple E Senate—even though it has 25 per cent of the population. As a compromise, some experts say that Quebec senators could exercise a veto over federal legislation on education or culture, and matters affecting the French language.

Spending powers: Spending is a central issue in the current debate. Provincial leaders fear that Ottawa will surrender constitutional control over programs but keep the revenues that fund those programs. The Quebec Liberal party has demanded the abolition of Ottawa's right to spend in areas of Quebec's exclusive jurisdiction, like an inheritance tax, 25. Cawley, including former Ontario premier William Davis and former Saskatchewan premier Allan Rock, recommended that Ottawa and the provinces "be restricted to spending in their own fields of jurisdiction unless by mutual agreement." The group added that Ottawa should transfer to the provinces the tax revenues that it now devotes to social programs.

The charter of rights: At the core of the debate is a fundamental disagreement over the proper balance between individual and collective rights. Individual rights were enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The result: charter groups, such as women and natives, now have a formal voice in upholding their individual rights. In contrast, Quebec society has a historical inclination to its collective rights. The original 1982 Act said the charter itself, in fact, recognize collective rights. The two were clashed in 1988 when Quebec Premier Robert

Bourassa invoked the so-called notwithstanding clause to restrict the individual right to freedom of expression so that he could limit the use of English on commercial signs. To many Quebecers, Bourassa was simply protecting collective rights. To many charter groups, he was violating individual rights. As well, the premier has insisted that the charter cannot take precedence over a future distinct society clause.

Those issues hang Canada's past, its present and its future. Since the proclamation of the British North America Act, they have underlaid the struggle for power and equity at the constitutional bargaining table, in the courts and during the divisions of the tattered revenues. Canadians may not solve those problems during the upcoming round of constitutional talks. The decade is rife with uncertainty and conflict; the divisions are deep. Still, as Canadians wrestle, once again, with familiar issues, they do it in the knowledge that 134 years of constitutional tinkering did not prevent 134 years of often prosperous and sometimes proud nationhood.

MARK JANIGAN



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When it strikes, simply open
wide and say bahhh.

 **Cabriolet**

A HOUSE DIVIDED

His is a distinguished scholar, poet and linguist with wide experience in government. But he is also elderly, has a poor health, archaistic and widely considered to be a political lightweight. He has no seat in parliament, and leads a fractionary party transmitted by the assassination of its last leader and at least 15 seats short of a legislative majority. With the burden of state's handicaps on his first shoulders, 70-year-old P. V. Narasimha Rao, who last year underwent heart bypass surgery, was sworn in last Friday as India's new prime minister. The ceremony took place at precisely 12:55 p.m. local time—the moment that Rao's predecessor claimed to be the most propitious. But the daunting task of healing the ethnically and religiously divided Indian nation together will clearly require more than a suitable convergence of the stars. And even some of Rao's party colleagues expressed doubts about his ability to succeed. Still newly-elected Congress (I) party vice Suresh Singh, Ahmedabad, "Rao is not a sturdy arrangement."

That comment seemed to disguise the apprehension of unity caused by Rao's unanimous election to the party leadership last Thursday. But Rao's ascension occurred only after Shreed Paver, a powerful, 51-year-old Bombay politician, withdrew from the leadership contest under pressure from the Congress hierarchy. And it was clear that deep rifts remained within the party, which has ruled India for all but five of the country's 44 years of independence. Meanwhile, to resume active minister, Rao must navigate a parliamentary web of confidence, to be held within a month, and win a seat in the 544-member Lok Sabha (Lower house) within an month. Analysts said that he would probably survive both hurdles—the first because opposition MPs are in

INDIA PREPARES FOR A MINORITY GOVERNMENT UNDER A FRACTIOUS CONGRESS PARTY

no mood for another election, and the second because the Congress party will be sure to find Rao as absolutely safe constituency.

Rao's rise to the leadership of the party followed the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi on May 31, and the refusal of Rajiv's widow, Sonia, to take his place despite the pleas of the Congress leadership. Rao, a loyal Congress member for five decades, had served in senior cabinet positions under

both Rajiv and his mother, Indira Gandhi, who was herself assassinated in 1984. Rao is widely respected as a scholar who speaks 14 languages and as a politician who remains untainted by the stigma of corruption that stung his colleagues' skulls. But Rao and the 34 cabinet ministers who swore oaths in with him face challenges more critical than at any time in India's modern history.

As well as the country's traditional problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease, corruption and bureaucratic inertia, the Rao administration faces increasing separatist violence in the states of Punjab, Assam, and Jammu and Kashmir. It must also cope with an upsurge of conflict within India's rigid caste system, and with Hindu fundamentalist agitation that clearly concerns the 120 million-strong Muslim minority. In addition, the nation's 544 million people face massive economic problems, including an annual inflation rate of 13 per cent.

The government will have to consider taking such drastic and unpopular steps as cutting basic food subsidies to reduce the country's \$74-billion external debt and \$6-billion budget deficit. It was that situation which led Paver, Rao's rival for the leadership, to declare that only a unified Congress party "can pull the country out of the deep economic quagmire and restore the confidence and credibility of the nation."



Hindu revivalists at location of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination: Bloody riots

But the new government had an even more urgent priority last week. Before he was officially sworn in, Rao ordered a three-month postponement of the elections that were due to have been held on Saturday in Punjab. In that predominantly Sikh state, more than 2,500 people, including 23 parliamentary candidates, have died in sectarian violence this year. Sikh terrorists killed 78 people in two attacks on passenger trains on June 25. Despite that situation, opposition parties and members of the Sikh community widely condemned the election postponement. Said Artar Singh, a Sikh resident of New Delhi: "It shows that the Congress remains undemocratic and authoritarian, even after the end of the Gandhi dynasty."

Growing tensions between majority Hindu and minority Muslims posed another potential threat to public order following the dramatic election results made by the Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party. With 120 seats in the lower house, the BJP is now the largest political group in parliament after Congress (I). As well, the party ranked Congress candidates in the country's most populous state, Uttar Pradesh, where the BJP had been agitating for the dissolution of a 20th-century Muslim shrine and its replacement by a Hindu temple. Those demands sparked bloody communal riots across the country, but the BJP remains committed to explain, "Now that we are in power in Uttar Pradesh," said party leader Atal Behari Vajpayee last week, "our first task will be to

remove the obstacles in the way of building the temple."

But there were some encouraging reports for Rao and his administration. Although opposition parties of the left and the center-left seemed unwilling to join the Congress party in a governing coalition, their leaders said that they were in no hurry to bring the administration down. They indicated that they would either abstain or side with the government in the upcoming vote of confidence. In doing so, the opposition politicians were clearly heeding a message conveyed by the record-low turnout during the recent polling: that the electorate is weary at politicians who maneuver for party advantage and who use their positions for their own financial gain.

Only 53 per cent of the country's 520 million registered voters went to the polls, led by Atar Singh, a senior member of the Congress party, to consent last week. "Each one of us has to search our hearts that neither wailing and wailing, nor demands of self cloud our judgment."

Judging by Rao's hesitancy, if not outright record, India's new leader is not a man of rushing actions. The issue is whether he can control his overly party while tackling his country's profound problems. No less than the stability of the world's largest democracy is at stake.

JOHN REEDMAN with
AP/WIDE WORLD in New Delhi

SURRENDER OF A KINGDOM

Pablo Escobar, the so-called godfather of the Medellín cocaine cartel, turned himself in to Colombian authorities, along with several of his top associates, after a local press bureau meeting with him to urge his surrender. Police accuse Escobar, a 41-year-old middle-classman, of ordering a series of bombings and assassinations that have killed hundreds of people during a two-year drug war. Escobar, who also has track record and murder charges in the United States, surrendered hours after a special Colombian assembly voted to his extradition, the weapon that the nation's drug lords fear most—their arrests and bribes have made Colombia courts notoriously soft on traffickers. Before took Escobar to a three-room suite in a luxurious prison near Medellín, re-arrested especially to house him and his henchmen. Although President César Gaviria Trujillo pronounced that the arrests may mean "the end of micro-terrorism in Colombia," local papers predicted that Escobar would spend eight years in jail at most.

TILTS ON TOUR

Just a week after his election as president of the powerful Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin traveled to Washington to urge the government to establish direct relations with individual Soviet republics. Yeltsin, who was mobbed by well-wishers at Washington's Lincoln Memorial and received a standing ovation from congressional leaders, also advocated independence for the three Baltic republics.

BANNING ABORTION

The Louisiana legislature voted by a vote that the required two-thirds majority to overturn the Roe v. Wade (1973) landmark decision of a controversial abortion law. The new legislation outlawed abortion except in cases of rape, incest or to save the life of the mother. The law, which makes no provision for an abortion when a woman's health is endangered, is the most restrictive in the United States.

REOPENING A MYSTERY

Authorities briefly renewed the remains of Zachary Taylor, the 12th president of the United States, from a crypt in Louisville, Ky. They will spend about two weeks testing bone samples for traces of arsenic and other poisons to determine whether he was the first U.S. president to be assassinated. Historian, Gary Klintworth pressed for the examination after concluding that Taylor's sudden death on July 9, 1850, which most historians say was due to an intestinal disorder, was suspicious.

GERMANY

A tale of two cities

The government abandons Bonn for Berlin

It was a battle pitting Beethovens against Bismarcks, a spirited backseat against a brawny necktie history. And it seemed to symbolize, for both east and west, conflicting visions of a reunited Germany. After a passionate, nationally televised 13-hour debate in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, deputies voted 236 to 221 last week to move their government from Bonn to Berlin. Over the next 12 years, the German chancellor, the Bundestag and its members will abandon Bonn, a quiet city of 210,000 people nestled among ancient castles on the Rhine River. They will move 650 km northwest to a bustling center of 2.4 million in the heart of eastern Germany, renowned for its artists, its immigrants, its shambles and radicals—and for the scars of its Nazi past and the divided role that followed. “In Berlin,” declared German President Richard von Weizsäcker, a former mayor of the city, “we know better than anyone else what dreams mean. This is the place for Germany’s political leadership.”

For four decades, the West German Constitution described Bonn as only a temporary capital. But the treaty that formally reunited Germany last October, although officially naming Berlin the capital, failed to mention that the government literally move there. Practical considerations (renewed Bonn estimates of the cost of moving the government range from \$1 billion to as much as \$50 billion. But for many Germans, the issue ran much deeper. To some, Bonn, a predominantly middle-class city known mostly as the birthplace of composer Ludwig van Beethoven, represented efficiency and order. From Bonn, with its proximity to the rest of the Western world—just 80 km from the Dutch border—the government built the Federal Republic into Europe’s economic powerhouse. To others, Berlin, 62 km from Potsdam, symbolized the new Europe—a capital that could emerge as the key arbiter in the post-Cold War struggle of East-West integration.

But Bonn also served as a crucible for measures as the seat of Nazi imperialism. It became Germany’s capital when Otto von Bismarck united the nation in 1871. After the First World War, the city reached its zenith as a hotbed of intellectual ferment. But that period ended abruptly when Adolf Hitler launched his brutal campaign to subjugate Europe, as a city that figured prominently in the recent capital debate. “What good is a great big Berlin with a great big government?” asked Udo Wehner, 38, a student at Cologne University. “We know twice from this century the answer is: not much good—due as to the rest of Europe.”

In arguing for Berlin last week, Chancellor Helmut Kohl evoked not imperial Berlin, but the city as it was after the war, a pile of rubble where about 150,000 people had died. The allies, represented by Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, divided the city. The western half was rebuilt and slowly

tripled in size, with a shortage of 180,000 apartments, quarters occupy hastily built-scale structures. Riots erupted last year when police tried to evict them. And the bitterness among many eastern Berliners is palpable. After the euphoria of the 1989 revolution, the cold realities of the free market are forcing most of the east’s inefficient businesses into bankruptcy.

An estimated 40 per cent of easterners are unemployed or underemployed. According to recent opinion polls, a slight majority of western Germans favored Bonn as the capital, but more than 70 per cent of easterners supported Berlin. And Rainerud Schirmer, 71, an east Berlin peasant: “We are owed this much by the west.” Added east Berlin chemist Lutz Norheim, 42: “Let those hot-hot Bonn deputies in their big offices see the problems up close.”

The move to Berlin will create new prob-



Berlin's ancient Kurfürstendamm Center: the city symbolizes a new Europe

lems in Bonn, where 36 per cent of the work force depends on the government for jobs. To lessen the impact, the Bundestag agreed to leave the upper house of parliament and many of the city’s businesses in Bonn, although the chancellor and his leaders will move. Still, the decision, said one finance ministry official, will leave Bonn looking “lucrally dead.”

Not everyone in Berlin welcomed the decision, either. “Moving the government,” said Richard Metzger, 23, a squatter in east Berlin’s volatile Friedrichshagen district, “means more government, more police and more puppets pushing papers right out of sight.” But it also lays to rest a dormant issue and opens a new chapter in the divided history of Berlin.

Since reunification, Berlin has become a hot bed of social upheaval. Land prices have nearly

tripled in Bonn, where 36 per cent of the work force depends on the government for jobs. To lessen the impact, the Bundestag agreed to leave the upper house of parliament and many of the city’s businesses in Bonn, although the chancellor and his leaders will move. Still, the decision, said one finance ministry official, will leave Bonn looking “lucrally dead.”

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MARY NEMETH with JIMMY MOLLAND in Berlin



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NO WONDER
ULYSSES TOOK
TEN YEARS
TO GET HOME



ULYSSES KNEW OF GRACE. THE ENGLISH VICTOR OF TWO TEN YEAR TRIUMPH WAS WHO TOOK AS LONG TO GET HOME. POSSIBLY HE DID AN EXTRA YEAR, A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE WIFE TO GET HOME AND THE ATTRACTIONS ENCOUNTERED EN ROUTE.

A WHITE, HEAVY TURQUOISE BEACH DOTTED BY MORE THAN 100 ISLANDS. THE INVITATION OF 1000 BLUE BEACHES FOR GRACEFUL CREATIONS. BEACHES ENDING IN A DEEPER OF BLUE BEACHES. NEVER ENDING HORIZONS. MORE THAN 300 BEACHES FOR ALL OF THE DAYS THERE AND THE YEAR WHICH THE GODS TRANSFERRED THEM. ARE THE BEACHES AWAY YOU IN GREECE.

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Barriers at racially mixed beach: economic sanctions may soon be lifted

SOUTH AFRICA

Removing the color bar

Parliament repeals a discriminatory law

After she was born in the South African city of Johannesburg, Sandra Lung was officially classified as "white." But at the age of 10, after other children and their parents complained that she was not in fact white, the police went to her white-only school and ordered her to leave. Reclassified as "colored," Sandra was ostracized by the community at which she had been raised. Her parents and two brothers, who remained classified as white, initially supported her. But they grew up when she changed, aged 16, with a man classified as black. She has not seen her parents and siblings since. Last week, Lung, who is now 25, divorced and the mother of three children, responded strongly to the report that the South African parliament had repealed the law that had blighted her life. At her house in the ramshackle colored township of Gelatstad, near Johannesburg, she fingered the lips that a policeman had decided were too full for those of a person who had been designated as white, and said: "It's nice, but I don't care anymore. It's too late for me."

In withdrawing the repeal of the 41-year-old Population Registration Act by an overwhelming 257-to-38 parliamentary vote on June 17, the reformist government of President F. W. (Frodo) de Klerk did away with the last and most significant remnant of apartheid legislation. The act had slotted all South Africans into one of four racial groups: white, colored, Asian and black. Its repeal returned to the hard whites of the opposition Conserva-

tive Party, but paved the way for South Africa's return to international respectability. President George Bush said that he hoped soon to lift economic sanctions. Canada and other Western governments indicated that they would likely follow suit. And Kenya promptly ended a 15-year-old ban on sporting competition with South Africa.

But one further obstacle remained to the start of negotiations between the government and the African National Congress on a new constitutional constitution, which would give the vote to blacks. That was the continued existence of a disputed number of political prisoners. The ANC claimed that almost 1,000 such prisoners remained behind bars, while the government insisted that all those who fitted its definition of political prisoner had been released.

Meanwhile, ANC officials, while welcoming the repeal, urged the retention of sanctions until South Africa makes further progress. Pressing to disparities between white and black pensions and the only partial integration of state schools, an ANC statement declared: "As long as such blatantly racist practices continue, the Population Registration Act will have been removed in name only." But whatever reforms come next, for Sandra Lung and thousands like her, the hurt and shame might never be removed.

JOHN BIERMAN with **OWEN GRADUS**
in Cape Town and **ANJALI MACKENZIE**
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MACLEAN'S JULY 1991



Honda assembly plant in Alliston, Ont.; the latest in a series of confrontations over Canada-U.S. automotive trade

BUSINESS

A COLLISION COURSE

Less than a decade ago, the 450-acre site was covered with potato plants. Now, a sprawling Honda Canada Inc. assembly plant rises from the rolling countryside near Alliston, Ont., turning out more than 106,000 cars a year and employing 1,900 workers. For area residents, the factory's opening in 1986 was an unalloyed blessing, pumping millions of dollars a year into the local economy. But last week, the Honda plant came under fire from customs officials and politicians in the United States, who charged that the company had failed to meet North American content requirements set out in the 1983 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Although Honda denied the allegation, industry analysts say that the dispute could damage a vital sector of the Canadian economy—and almost certainly discourage future investment in Canada by Asian automakers. "It's unfortunate," said Patrick Leslie, a former Ontario deputy minister of trade. "The Americans are saying that if the Japanese build new plants,

A CRACKDOWN BY U.S. CUSTOMS COULD THREATEN ASIAN INVESTMENT IN CANADA'S AUTO INDUSTRY

they'll better be in the United States."

Indeed, the controversy over Honda's U.S.-bound exports is only one of several confrontations between Canada and the United States over automotive trade. In Washington last week, Democratic House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt called for a sweeping investigation of all foreign-car models made in Canada

for export to the United States. Declared Gephardt, a vocal protectionist, "It's time that our trading partners know that the days of shoving our lives are over." In addition, U.S. officials are pressuring Canada to raise the North American content requirement for vehicles built in so-called transpacific factories to 60 percent from 50 percent, in order to qualify for duty-free entry into the United States. And some U.S. trade analysts add that the Bush administration is bent on recognizing the terms of the Canada-U.S. trade talks during the current round of three-way trade talks with Mexico. Reviving the concerns was by Canada under the 1985 Auto Pact.

The allegations against Honda are contained in a preliminary U.S. customs audit that was leaked to *The New York Times*. The report says that only 38 per cent of the value of the parts and labor in the Honda Civic sold in the United States trace America in 1989 and 1990 (quoted in North America). If the audit's findings are upheld, Honda could be liable

for \$42 million in U.S. import duties.

Although Honda Canada spokesman Dennis Manning said that company executives have yet to see the report, he insisted that the Civic would exceed the 50-per-cent North American content requirement. He noted that Honda manufactures all of the car's outer body panels in the Alliston plant and exports components from a Honda factory in Ohio, Ohio. The car's transmissions, muffler, windshield and windows, fuel tank and seats are also made in North America, the company says.

The outcome of the Honda case is certain to affect Canada-based exporters to other nations. Analysts say that it is the first step in the so-called rules of origin in the 1983 trade pact. Under the FTA, manufacturers in either country can now ship goods across the border at reduced tariff rates—or, in some cases, duty-free—provided that they meet certain North American content requirements, which vary according to the industry. The agreement lists specific types of expenses that companies can claim as North American content, but Canadian trade officials say that those lists are subject to interpretation.

Unfortunately, this is the first in a series of audits that will establish the rules for all Canada-U.S. trade," said a senior federal industry department official, who asked not to be named. Last month, U.S. customs examiners broadened their investigation of Asian-owned transpacific factories to include the CAM Automotive Inc. plant in Ingersoll, Ont., jointly owned by Japan's Daihatsu Motor Co. and General Motors of Canada Ltd. It produces Suzuki Swift, Chevrolet Sprint and Pontiac Firefly cars, as well as Suzuki Sidekick trucks. Canada's other two Asian assemblers, a Toyota Corolla sedan plant in Cambridge, Ont., and a South Korean-owned Hyundai battery factory in Brampton, Ont., have yet to be audited.

U.S. customs officials are now paying the standard 25-per-cent duty on its U.S.-bound vehicles because the company has insufficient North American content to qualify for duty-free status. Trade analysts say that the Honda controversy shows how difficult it is to determine the exact origin of a car's components. Said the federal trade official: "Look if you take the entire vehicle apart and get down to the nuts and bolts, where did the steel for that nut come from? Where did the energy to make the steel come from?" For his part, Gephardt's spokesman, Michael Nylen, says that his company's vehicles meet the 50-per-cent requirement. But he added that

U.S. automakers are bound to contest some of his claims. For one thing, Nylen's calculations include interest on bank loans used to build the plant and purchase equipment. The FTA refers specifically to "mortgage interest" as an allowable production cost, but makes no mention of other types of interest charges.

For many Canadian auto executives, the initial Honda audit is a warning sign of increasing U.S. inflexibility on some trade issues. In Ottawa last week, Trade Minister Michael Wilson played down the report's significance, noting that it is a preliminary document. "Probably, however, some of Wilson's statements give cause for concern about the links

"One fun to question customs when documents are released into the public domain," one official told *Maclean's*. He added that Canada's ambassador in Washington, Derek Bursey, is "aggressively pursuing" the issue and has expressed Canada's concerns to the U.S. treasury department.

Moreover, U.S. pressure on Asian-owned assembly plants to increase their North American parts purchases may intensify over the next few months during the negotiations aimed at creating a North American free trade zone. Under the Auto Pact, cars produced in Canada by the Big Three North American automakers are effectively required to use 60-per-cent Canadian content. By contrast, foreign automakers need only conform to the FTA to qualify for duty-free entry to the United States. "Canada eventually has two rules, and that's just not reasonable," says Peter Norrie, a professor of Canadian studies at the University of Maine in Orono. "It's ludicrous to think that some reports of that aren't going to be affected by the negotiations with Mexico."

But Canadian auto executives warn that any alterations to the existing content rules would endanger the country's automotive industry. Lavelle, now vice-president of corporate development for Marquette, Ontario, auto parts manufacturer Magna International Inc., says that a higher content-content requirement would act as an incentive for Asian companies to direct their future investments in the United States, where the parts industry is far larger than in Canada.

For that reason, American and Canadian auto-parts industry is likely to fight as hard as Honda against the challenge from north of the border.

JOHN DILLI with REGG LATER in Toronto



Gephardt: demanding a sweeping investigation

Business Notes

THE PRICE IS RIGHT

Peco-Canada's first three offerings, which raised \$534 million for 19.5 per cent of the Crown corporation, sold out within a day. Analysts said that the federal government set the share price at \$13, rather than the expected \$15, to compensate for Peco-Canada's recent poor financial performance. In the first three months of the year, the energy company reported a \$32-million loss, the third straight loss. Ottawa says that the rest of the company will be privatized later.

DE HAVILLAND SALE GROUNDING

Industry Minister Michael Wilson rejected a proposal by a French-led consortium to buy Toronto-based de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd. Polish officials said that the European bid contained insufficient benefits for Canada and would have required at least \$1 billion in government subsidies over the next 16 years. Wilson gave the consortium 30 days to table an improved offer for de Havilland, now owned by Boeing Co. of Seattle.

UNION SEEKS CUT IN PAY

The United Structures of America asked its 4,000 members who work at Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd. of Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., to take temporary pay cuts of up to \$3 an hour. Union officials said that the proposed four-month cut, which would save an estimated \$14 million if it also included the 1,315 non-union personnel, could help keep the company afloat until the end of the year. The union and the company, owned by Delaval Inc. of Hamilton, are currently trying to agree on a restructuring plan to save the financially troubled steelmaker.

TRADE JUMP FUELS OPTIMISM

Canadian exports and exports rose sharply in April, a sign that the long-awaited economic recovery may have started. Exports, led by higher automotive shipments, rose \$24 million to \$1.8 billion, while imports jumped \$578 million to \$1.1 billion. Statistics Canada said that manufacturing output rose in April for the second consecutive month.

JACKMAN QUITS VARIETY

Princess Margaret's business partner, Richard Jackman, resigned from the board of Variety Corp. in protest over the company's plans to transfer its head office from Toronto to Dallas, N.Y. Jackman, who is chairman of a holding company that controls the Toronto-based Variety Theatre Co. of Toronto, had been a member of the board since 1978, when Variety was known as Minsky-Prepress Ltd.



Common sense to the rescue

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

This special issue of *Maclean's* provides that gives the opportunity to consider the alternatives, most Canadians are ready to give the country another chance—not an unqualified vote, but as a recognition of people who can enjoy a decent life together.

There's an epic breakthrough, considering the hostility most Canadians seem to feel about federal unity. Saving this country is turning out to be a growth industry for unemployable academics and little else.

According to a recent *Research* poll, the proportion of Canadians who identify with their country (rather than with their region or province) has dropped to 46 per cent from 62 per cent in the past decade. At the same time, so Angus Reid Group survey shows that 90 per cent of Canadians believe that the country is about to split up. Yet in a study by Prof. Ronald Bibb of the University of Lethbridge in Alberta, Canadians ranked national survival only 11th out of 19 "very serious issues" facing the country. And a May poll by *Compton Research* Associates of Halifax reveals that only five per cent of Atlantic Canadians—who would be most affected by a Quebec split—consider national unity the country's most pressing priority.

It's a strange people. Nearly every time Sweden is threatened anywhere on the globe, we melt in as peacekeepers. Five times this century, we've mobilized highly effective forces to save embattled regimes as far away as Korea and Kuwait. Yet when the continued existence of Canada is threatened—it is now surely so—we stand back, yawn and wonder, "What else is new?"

This unwillingness to get excited about our own future is rooted in Canadian history. Becoming a Canadian never required conversion to any foreign faith, we have no equivalent of the American dream. The country attracted us simply, based on unadorned elegance, however reluctantly goes, rather than some grand social compact.

for his newest constitutional compromise to report its findings on which the federal position will be finally based.

Trying to resurrect Canada in that brief interval of 60 days would be like trying to scale Mount Everest on a dinner date. It can't be done. Timing has become the central problem. The Meek Lake fiasco proved that the pressure of a self-imposed deadline is counterproductive. As Justice Bertha puts it, "The millions of average Canadians who usually watched the Meek Lake story with the disinterest of window-shoppers were transformed into an angry mob ready to torch the stage."

The politicians are not only repeating the mistake of setting a deadline they can't meet, they're also telling us—just as they did in June, 1990—that if the newest constitutional arrangement isn't approved, the country will disappear, split up, be kept, done for. This time, it could be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The moods of French and English Canada are not only drifting apart, but worsening. Pollsters indicate that there is almost no support in the rest of Canada for Quebec's preferred option of sovereignty-association. Most English-Canadians refuse to consider the prospect of negotiating an economic union with Quebec as an independent state and laugh at a Quebec Liberal party report's suggestion that the province should continue receiving federal equalization payments after separation.

Ironically, nationalist constitutional experts testifying before Quebec's Bélanger-Corpuz commission acknowledged that the Canadian Constitution has no provision for allowing a province to withdraw from Confederation. Just Warshaw, a law professor at the University of Montreal who testified before the committee, suggested that it would be a lot easier under the Constitution to pass an amendment allowing Quebec to depart than trying to alter the rules in a way that would allow the province to stay.

That's a highly dubious proposition because no federal political leader, nor any premier, would want to be remembered as having presided over the death of the country. Even if they haven't learned anything about avoiding deadlines, our politicians cannot meet waving people, rather than only themselves, in devising a formula for national salvation. A new constitution, no matter how cleverly worded, that lacks direct public support is doomed. Yet any referendum held by Ottawa to approve its constitutional initiative is bound to be interpreted as a popularity poll on Brian Mulroney's administration. Unless he can engineer a dramatic recovery, that could end on right there.

Now at the Canadians who participated in the *Maclean's* weekend on the country's future have a common issue. There's only one question to reflect accurately the current frustrations of the country and the confused future we face: But even if they stand on sustaining faith, they do share an attitude.

They know that because of all the disapprovements and delays, it may be almost to advocate innovation and reform in the Canadian state. But they also believe that it would be far more absurd not even to try.

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Dressing in moods

Body heat makes a new fabric change colors

At first glance, a new, hot-setting line of U.S. sportswear appears to stain easily. A casual brush of a hand on the fabric leaves a pink imprint, while a blast of cold air turns the fabric blue. Then, a simple change in body heat or the weather can change the colors again. The unusual hue swings in and out as accident happen—and sometimes dawn—as the “mood rings of the Nineties,” thermochromic fabrics containing special liquid crystals are becoming a popular item throughout the United States and abroad. “In two days, we were totally sold out,” said Jim Chambers, assistant manager of Macys’ clothing store in Palisades, Ky., about 320 km southwest of Louisville. “We have never had these kind of sales.”

The heat-sensitive garments are scientists’ latest contribution to the world of fashion—but people are buying them simply for the fun of it. Britain’s Royal Society of Chemistry recently awarded a 1988 anniversary with a London television show featuring showcasing thermochromic garments. Several items presented with a special credit produced by Merck Ltd., in Darmstadt, England. At 20° C, the black material becomes red and adopts other colors before turning blue at 33° Celsius.

In Japan, the Gensetsa Spinnings Co. Inc. of Seio is using a thermochromic fabric dye, made by Kyoto, Japan-based Matsui Shikano Chemical Co. Ltd., to produce its 1990s-style line of T-shirts, shirts, socks, sweaters and jeans. Gensetsa chairman Shiroo Matsui says that the company’s exclusive rights to the dye outside Japan led to U.S. sales of more than \$75 million since Gensetsa introduced the line in January. But the backlog of orders has forced the company to delay plans to sell the line through Toronto-based Janyx of Canada until next

January. Said Matsui: “We just can’t keep up!”

Despite the publicity surrounding their newest applications, thermochromic materials have been used for years in the academic community. Doctors use temperature-sensitive liquid crystals that change color to identify circulation problems or tumors, which are warmer than healthy tissue. Others use the crystals to identify temperature changes or assist in laboratory testing. Still, some chemists say that the fashion appeal of the chemicals may outweigh some of the academic benefits. Said Luca Locatelli, a chemistry professor at the University of Prince Edward Island in Charlottetown: “There are less flashy but more precise ways to assess temperature.”

But fashion experts say that the crude showiness of thermochromic materials has added a new dimension to the current revival of tie-dyed, so-called psychedelic wear among teenagers. To cash in on the craze, Gensetsa is now planning a more color-sensitive line that will change at 21° C instead of the current 20° C. Meanwhile, British chemical executives say they are getting regular inquiries with thermochromic images. Said Merck spokesman Keith Archer: “It’s a more subtle effect than the crude 100-per-cent color.” But fashion buyers remain skeptical that the fabric will keep its golden

lure. They say that despite company claims that embarrassing spots are avoided through “product collection,” there is still the risk that body heat will inadvertently accent gross lines, armpits or unwanted bulges. As well, they say that the novelty may soon wear off. Said Chambers: “It’s too trendy to be around next year!” In the meantime, young consumers are awaking that this is one fad that says hot.



Thermochromic clothes: hot

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On July 10, Mr. Vittorio Cassoni, Managing Director and CEO of The Olivetti Group Worldwide, will be the honored guest at Olivetti Canada's fortieth anniversary luncheon in Toronto.

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The luncheon reception, being held at Four Seasons Hotel - Yorkville, begins at 11:45 a.m. with Mr. Cassoni's presentation at 12:45 p.m.

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Glimpses of hope

Science turns its attention to an AIDS vaccine

For the past five anxiety-filled years, Salpech Oua, a Montreal microbiologist, has lived with the knowledge that he is infected with the human immunodeficiency virus, which most scientists say is the precursor to AIDS. But Oua, 30, says that he has not given up hope that science will develop a drug in the near future capable of preventing the infection from turning into full-blown AIDS. And Oua said that he was encouraged when he heard reports of a new vaccine developed by Genentech-based MicroGene-Sys Inc. and tested on HIV-infected patients at clinics in Montreal and in five U.S. centres. For his part, Dr. Christopher Toulson, who coordinated the Montreal trials and reported his findings at an international AIDS conference in Florence, Italy, last week, said: "The glimpses we have had of the vaccine at work are very positive and warrant more work."

While many scientists have focused their efforts on the development of drugs to treat

people who already have AIDS, vaccine research represents a change in direction. According to Toulson, an effective vaccine would stop the human immune system to recognize and attack the HIV as soon as infection occurs. Such a vaccine would prevent the virus from reproducing and attacking the body's immune system, leaving the infected individual vulnerable to debilitating and usually fatal infections. Still, Toulson said that it may be years before a safe, effective vaccine is available. Oua, for one, is aware that the vaccine may not be available in time to help him. Said Oua: "I would love to see a miraculous cure, but it seems unlikely."

At the Florence conference, which attracted 8,000 scientists and researchers, Dr. James Kim of the Geneva-based World Health Organization told participants that there now are an estimated 16 million HIV-infected adults in the world, while more than 360,000 cases of AIDS have been reported in 162 countries. So far, the organization estimates, 1.5 million people

worldwide have died from AIDS-related complications. Oua added that by the turn of the century, as many as 40 million people could be HIV-positive and 10 million could be suffering from AIDS.

In an effort to limit the AIDS death toll, researchers are increasingly trying to develop a vaccine to prevent HIV-infected people from getting AIDS. Besides MicroGene-Sys, about half a dozen American biotechnology companies, including Wyeth Corp. of Cambridge, Mass., and San Francisco-based Genentech Inc., are searching for an effective vaccine. As well, Dr. James Salk, who developed the first polio vaccine in 1953, is also conducting AIDS vaccine research at the Institute Response Corp., a San Diego, Calif.-based biopharmaceutical company. In Canada, the pathology and biology departments at McMaster University in Hamilton and the Ottawa-based Federal Centre for AIDS have teams of scientists conducting similar research.

Most of the projects involve the manufacturing of proteins from the outer shell of the virus that causes AIDS. Those proteins are then injected into either animals or humans in an effort to find a protein that will trigger a response by the subject's immune system. Michael O'Shaughnessy, a virologist who is the director of the Bureau of Laboratory and Research in Ottawa, which is part of the Federal Centre for AIDS, said that many scientists believe that the human immune system in HIV-infected individuals already possesses the antibodies needed to attack and kill the virus. But O'Shaughnessy



AIDS activists in Florence: little chance of saving the lives of current carriers

said that under normal circumstances, the immune system does not recognize the virus or respond quickly enough when infection occurs. If a protective antibody is identified, it could become the basis for a vaccine.

Although such high-risk groups as male homosexuals have organized vocal campaigns to lobby for increased funding and research into a treatment for AIDS, scientists involved in vaccine research warn that they are still in the

early phases of testing their products. MicroGene-Sys has been testing its product, known as Vaxfectin, on human volunteers since September, 1987, but other U.S. companies are still testing their vaccines on animals. Toulson said that the purpose of the first round of testing on humans was to determine whether Vaxfectin would produce any harmful side effects.

Despite that limited optimism, the tests produced encouraging results. Starting in April,

1989, Vaxfectin was administered over a six-month period to 36 volunteers, all of whom had tested positive for HIV at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington. The trial subjects included men and women between the ages of 18 and 59. Similar trials, involving 31 people, were conducted at Montreal's General Hospital, under Toulson's supervision, starting in February, 1990. According to a report published in the June 13 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine*, among the 36 subjects in the Walter Reed trials, 19 had increased levels of anti-HIV antibodies in their blood after receiving injections of Vaxfectin.

For his part, Toulson said that 20 of the 31 participants in the Montreal trials showed increased levels of T-cells, which are a key component in the body's immune system. Said Toulson: "Usually, you're happy with half or 60 per cent of the subjects improving. We had only one out of 31 that didn't improve, which is an amazing feat." But despite these encouraging results, most scientists attending the Florence conference said that there was little hope of a vaccine being perfected soon enough to save the lives of the millions of people who already carry the deadly AIDS virus.

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PEOPLE

DENIAL AND SPECULATION

The wedding is off, but the saga continues. Last week, Kevin Bacon, a close friend of Hugh Hefner in Knoxville, TN, who has been a friend of Hefner's since childhood, denied reports that she is romantically involved with him. Meanwhile, Julie Roberts, who was to have married Sutherland on June 14, went to Dublin in the company of actor Jason Patric. Friends of Hollywood's most bankable actress and Donald Sutherland's son insist that they still plan to marry. In any case, the publicity can only help Roberts' new film, the tear-jerker *Dying Young*.

Roberts: the publicity can only help



Excellent dude

Canadian actor Keane Reeves is back in the advertising business. Two years after his hit film about boys with a time machine, *Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure*, Reeves has his first major adult role in the new action film *Point Break*. And to get a feeling for his part as a divorced pit agent, Reeves tried skydiving. Said Reeves, 36, who grew up in Toronto: "I went to 12,500 feet. I pulled my own cord. It was amazing." But not everyone was so thrilled by his commitment to realism. Added Reeves: "The producers threatened me with lawsuits if I didn't stop jumping."



Reeves committed to realism

A FINE HOW-DO-YOU-DO

As Canada's chief of protocol, Pierrette Lucas has learned that even her best plans sometimes go awry. Fifty-year-old Lucas, who has been playing host to foreign ministers for three years, says that she has had a "charmed life," with no major catastrophes. Added Lucas: "I find that if you're comfortable, the people are comfortable—and expect a few minor things to go wrong." She recalled Israeli President Chaim Herzog's visit to a Montreal synagogue in 1989: Said Lucas: "We had missed the receiving line and got out of the car at the wrong door. So I turned to him and said, 'It's a custom in Canada that before we greet, we wait for a while,' and led him around to the right door. Thank goodness it wasn't raining. And he never let on that he knew."

PERSONAL-TOUCH BANKING

Although he has declined honors in the past, last week Jean Vanier accepted the \$100,000 Rayal Bank Award for contributions to human welfare. Vanier, the son of former governor general Georges Vanier, who died in 1967, is the founder of L'Arche, an organization dedicated to caring for the mentally and physically handicapped. Said Vanier, 62, who will donate the money to L'Arche: "The idea that 'Vanier is so great because he's taking care of these horrible people' is exactly the opposite of what L'Arche is about."

Saving a symbol

The image graces the Canadian dime and the sails around North America is a kind of living museum, but the Bluenose II is in danger of falling apart. British author Douglas Reeman, 66, is one of many nautical history buffs who are trying to raise \$5 million to replace the dry-dock-replica of the original 1939 Maritime schooner, the Bluenose. Last week, Reeman, who has sold millions of his 48 nautical and historical novels, gave a reading from his latest, *Sailing Ground*, aboard the Bluenose II in Toronto as part of the fundraising effort. Said the prolific writer, who has given only two public readings in his 36-year career: "When I go back to England, I shall be writing articles about saving the Bluenose for nautical magazines. What's great about the Bluenose, unlike many other old schooners, is that she actually works." Added Reeman, a former British navy sailor: "Even though I write about the sea, it's difficult to explain the feeling I had riding the Bluenose. It's like a drug."

Reeman: writing about saving the Bluenose



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Memory (Std./Max.)	1MB/2MB	1MB/2MB	1MB/2MB	1MB/2MB	1MB/2MB
Hard Disk Drive	5MB	5MB	5MB	5MB	5MB
CD-ROM	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available
Video/Display	1024/1024	1024/1024	1024/1024	1024/1024	1024/1024
Power Management	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Software	MS-DOS 3.31 Lotus 1-2-3 Microsoft Excel Microsoft Word Microsoft PowerPoint Microsoft Access Microsoft Visual Basic Microsoft Visual FoxPro Microsoft Visual C++ Microsoft Visual Studio Microsoft Visual Studio .NET	MS-DOS 3.31 Lotus 1-2-3 Microsoft Excel Microsoft Word Microsoft PowerPoint Microsoft Access Microsoft Visual Basic Microsoft Visual FoxPro Microsoft Visual C++ Microsoft Visual Studio Microsoft Visual Studio .NET	MS-DOS 3.31 Lotus 1-2-3 Microsoft Excel Microsoft Word Microsoft PowerPoint Microsoft Access Microsoft Visual Basic Microsoft Visual FoxPro Microsoft Visual C++ Microsoft Visual Studio Microsoft Visual Studio .NET	MS-DOS 3.31 Lotus 1-2-3 Microsoft Excel Microsoft Word Microsoft PowerPoint Microsoft Access Microsoft Visual Basic Microsoft Visual FoxPro Microsoft Visual C++ Microsoft Visual Studio Microsoft Visual Studio .NET	MS-DOS 3.31 Lotus 1-2-3 Microsoft Excel Microsoft Word Microsoft PowerPoint Microsoft Access Microsoft Visual Basic Microsoft Visual FoxPro Microsoft Visual C++ Microsoft Visual Studio Microsoft Visual Studio .NET
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MUSIC

Songs of pride

Kashtin's lyrics celebrate an ancient culture



Volant (left), McKenna: "We're strong, and proud to sing in our own language."

Their songs, surrounded by hanging canoe shells, resembled the inside of a great pipe. And in the audience sat a man having a bonfire of 5,000-year-old logs of birch bark made of twisted cedar bark. The scene in Toronto a few weeks ago suggested a solemn performance of traditional canoe music but what followed was a raucous canoe pop concert. Indeed, the freedom quickly gave way to a raucous electric guitar, and the twang of its chords was filed in the air of the downtown rock club. The group was the duo Kashtin, backed by a four-piece band. And although Kashtin is made up of native musicians Claude McKenna, 22, and Forrest Volant, 33, an island is staged in country-rock guitar and blue-jazz harmonies, with one striking difference: McKenna and Volant sing in Montagnais, a language spoken by fewer than 10,000 people, the Montagnais or, in Inuktitut, of eastern Quebec and neighboring Labrador.

Based in the small Montserrat enclave near St. John's, Que., about 600 km north of Montreal, Kashtin (the name means "harmony" in Montagnais) is proving that neither English nor French is a prerequisite for success in Canadian pop. Sales of their debut disc, released on Montreal's Tru-Canada label in the fall of 1995, are now approaching 100,000 copies—

an astounding figure for any domestic band, particularly one on a small independent label. And Kashtin singles such as the catchy *Le Démon* (My Childhood) have had significant airplay in both Canada and France, where the group's album has sold another 35,000 copies.

Kashtin's next album is not due until November. But in the meantime, McKenna and Volant are intent on writing the same kind of strong following in English Canada that they now enjoy in Quebec. In coming weeks, the band will perform for some of its largest audiences to date, appearing at a special Canada Day concert on Parliament Hill in Ottawa and, on July 6, at the Toronto Earth Spirit Festival.

Most showcasing First Nations, Inuit and Japanese-Canadian culture at Toronto's Harbourfront. And although McKenna and Volant carefully avoid militant politics, they do see their role as one of bringing pride to their people and bridging Canada's different cultures. Said Volant: "We think we can make unity with the other nations with our music."

In concert last month at Toronto's Opera House nightclub, Kashtin brought together a diverse crowd with a sound that Volant calls "Inuk rock 'n' roll." But the group's style appeals as much to fans of folk music and even of so-called worldbeat—or ethnic pop—music, blending as it does influences ranging from Bob

Dylan to the Gipsy Kings. Backed by four sensitive Montserrat musicians, McKenna and Volant showcased their collective talents and then took turns promoting glances into their individual backgrounds with solo medleys. Volant, seated on a stool with an acoustic guitar, strummed and softly sang a French-English version of "Tom Doolittle" as the *Blind*. By contrast, McKenna roared through four Beatles numbers, including *Help!* and *A Hard Day's Night*, on electric guitar, howling about the stage and mugging frequently as he sang.

In a recent interview, the differences between the two men became even more apparent. Volant, married with four children, is the more thoughtful musician. McKenna, who is single, has the irrepressible charm of a spoiled-rotten Tom Cruise. "This place," said McKenna, eyeing the restaurant's bright chandeliers and old cigar table fans, "is a real Victorian type of place." And then, pausing for a moment, he added: "I love that guy. He always says 'this is my place'." Volant, round-faced and smiling, was quick to get the subject back to music. "My first real love was Paul McCartney," he said, "and not just because he has a great voice, but because he's left-handed. That makes him different."

With his roots in the Montserrat reserve, Volant is much more of an original in the world of pop. He grew up with his brothers and sisters amid the reserve's poverty and alcoholism. And he recalls watching his father give up a traditional life of hunting and fishing in order to work "for the white man" as a large Quebec iron mine. Identifying with McCartney, the teenage Volant picked up a guitar and began singing Montagnais songs with Beatles tunes as a band that played in the bars around the reserve. By 1984, he had met McKenna, whose family had moved to Montreal, and they started writing songs together. Five years later, Montreal music producer Guy Trépanier saw them on a TV news program featuring one of their reserve concerts and soon after flew to the reserve to arrange a record deal.

According to Volant, it was natural for Kashtin to write in Montagnais. "We discuss in our Inuk language and we speak in our Inuk language," he said. "Why wouldn't we sing in our Inuk language as well?" But while one song, *Takwama* (Father), he admitted, it had become something of an anthem for Inuk people, it is about as political as Kashtin ever gets. In fact, the two musicians said that they were attracted when several Quebec radio stations boycotted their music during last year's Oka crisis. Recalled McKenna: "People called the radio stations and said, 'What are you doing? This music is not dangerous—play it!'"

Still, Volant maintained that by its very existence, Kashtin is helping the native cause. "To make this music is a sign that says, 'We're here and we're alive,'" he said. "It also says, 'We're strong and we're proud to sing in our own language.'" That message, delivered in breezy songs with strong two-part harmonies, is going out loud and clear.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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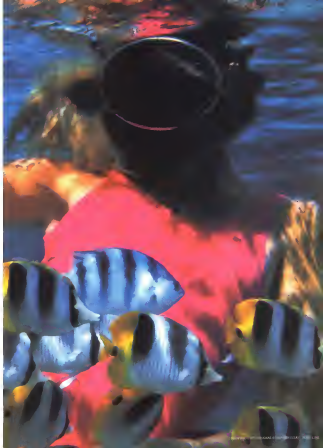


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Bull's supergun too big to aim, too easy for surveillance satellites to detect

BOOKS

A master of war

Gerald Bull lived and died by the gun

ARMS AND THE MAN

By William Llewellyn
(Doubleday, 299 pages, \$27.95)

FOR the last year of his life, before he was gunned down at the age of 62 outside his Ottawa apartment on March 22, 1990, Gerald Bull was a frightened man. The Canadian-born scientist and weapons designer had confided to friends that intruders were entering his residence while he was away. Once, they had rearranged some furniture. Another time they had removed a set of glasses from a cupboard and replaced them with new ones. On a third occasion, they had left a single strand of long, black hair on a white bedspread. In *Arms and the Man*, his fascinating new biography by Bill, Washington-based Canadian journalist William Llewellyn reveals that the scientist felt comfortable only when he was in Iraq, working on weapons systems for Saddam Hussein.

Llewellyn's book is the second this year to examine the life of Bull. *Arms and the Man* is far more colorful, engaging and enlightening than the first biography, *Wilderness of Arms* (Penguin-Bell), written by Toronto-based defence journalist Dale Grant. Llewellyn has based his account on revealing interviews with the clan man's family and friends. Only a third of

his biography is devoted to the last three years of Bull's life, when the scientist was working almost exclusively for the Iraqis. Although Bull's assassin was never arrested, Llewellyn concludes that the gunman was either a member of the Mossad, the Israeli secret service, or had been hired by the Mossad.

Bull was a brilliant scientist, a charismatic employer and a temperamental personality. He developed some of the most powerful, accurate and deadly artillery guns in the world. But according to Llewellyn, he remained an outsider whose breakthroughs were either rejected or ignored by the Western military establishments. And he worked obscurously for almost three decades on a gun big enough to shoot a satellite into orbit. Indeed, Bull became deeply involved with the Iraqis because Saddam Hussein was willing to finance his superguns.

Born in North Bay, Ont., the son of lawyer George Bull and his wife, Gertrude, Bull received a PhD in astronomical engineering from the University of Toronto at the age of 23. He then spent a decade working on departments of national defence projects in a facility north of Quebec City. Bull joined the engineering faculty of Montreal's McGill University, where he supervised the development of light guns and projectiles for putting satellites into orbit. In 1965, before the project was completed, Cana-

dian and U.S. defence ministries looking was cut off. Unfettered, Bull found private sponsors. But because contracts for pure scientific research were scarce, Bull began designing weaponry, and quickly gained an international reputation as a "Mr. Fix-it" for artillery. Over a 10-year period, military representatives of more than 20 countries visited his facilities in Highvale, Que. But in 1968, he was convicted in the United States of selling gun barrels and a rifle trucker spaces to South Africa, in contravention of an embargo. After serving 456 months in a maximum-security prison, he set up operations in Brussels in 1984.

Llewellyn writes that Bull had only two major clients there—the Chinese, who were interested in his artillery, and the Iraqis, who wanted his artillery and his supergun. The gambit Bull managed was to have a barrel over three feet in diameter and a length of 512 feet. It could have fired two-ton projectiles the size of a telephone booth into enemy space. But Llewellyn argues that the gun would have been useless, too big to aim and too easy for surveillance satellites to detect because of the 300-foot flame accompanying each firing.

Bull's fatal mistake, the author concludes, was to serve as an adviser to the Iraqis' missile program. According to Llewellyn, the Iraqis had regarded Bull as just another arms developer until "he wandered with seeming disregard into the sights of those determined to keep large and expensive missile systems out of Saddam's hands—at any cost." Technically brilliant but politically naive, Bull paid for his mistake with his life.

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WEEKLY LITERARY

FICTION

- 1 *The Kitchen God's Wife*, Tan (38)
- 2 *As the Crow Flies*, Anker (3)
- 3 *Moonrise*, Deighton
- 4 *"It" Is for Heretics*, Griffin (2)
- 5 *Imperatry*, Kinsley (3)
- 6 *Braveheart*, Smith (4)
- 7 *Best Laid*, Goodwin (4)
- 8 *The Secret of Kail*, Kilgus (4)
- 9 *A Soldier of the Great War*, Alcock (3)
- 10 *The Novel*, Maclean (5)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Kitchen of Dances*, Finner (2)
- 2 *Iron John*, Rye (2)
- 3 *Travels in Provence*, Miah (7)
- 4 *Wendy Allen*, Lee (3)
- 5 *The Conquerors*, Woodard (3)
- 6 *Bully for Bonaparte*, Graft
- 7 *Churchill: A Life*, Colver (5)
- 8 *Five in the Belly*, Kim
- 9 *Imaginary Homelands*, Ashkar (15)
- 10 *Whitlock*, Ashinger (5)

(1) Fiction list only

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